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The Washington Monthly

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Concerns About Carter~And His Chief Courtier

by Charles Peters

I write not as a foe of Jimmy Carter but as a friend. I found myself rooting for him in the Iowa primary—I admired his willingness to mix liberal and conservative positions, his combination of concern about human beings and skepticism about bureaucracy; and I continued to support him through the November election. But as the campaign went on, I, like so many other early Carter admirers, came to have doubts about him. I think it's important that we not forget about those doubts in the euphoria of victory. In several of his interviews during that campaign, Carter suggested that there would be a difference between the way he would run the government and the way he ran the campaign. Even so, several of the things that went wrong in the campaign revealed traits that can keep Carter from being the great President he wants to be, unless he works hard to overcome them.

Charles Peters is editor-in-chief of The Washington Monthly.

When a new President takes over the government he usually enjoys a brief period of amicable relations with the press called "the honeymoon." Reporters tend to be friendly not only to him but to the other members of his administration, who can of course become valuable sources. This friendliness is particularly apparent in their relations with the new press secretary, who will be their major source of access to the news of the White House. Thus it is unlikely that you will read during this honeymoon period much critical analysis of Jody Powell. This is unfortunate, because if the Carter Administration is like the Carter campaign, Powell will be its second most important figure.

If there were aspects of the campaign that we hope not to see repeated in the new administration, we must begin the process of preventing them by understanding these two men, their mutual strengths that produced the victory we wanted, their mutual weaknesses that produced the

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mistakes we worried about.

Both men are extremely intelligent. "Jody is as smart as Jimmy, bright enough to be President himself one day," is typical of what I've heard about Powell. Many politicians would sell their souls to have an assistant as capable as Powell, or a press secretary who was so able to charm reporters with his wit.

Powell's charm is joined with considerable subtlety. An illustration came during the struggle for power over the transition that occurred in the Carter camp in November. To the extent it was reported at all, it was depicted as a fight between Jack Watson and Hamilton Jordan. The real fight was between Watson and Powell, who managed to pull the strings without anyone noticing that he was backstage.

Powell's great importance during the campaign arose from his relationship with Carter. In dealing with most of his assistants, Carter behaves as a military commander would with his staff—he is long on efficiency and short on small talk and human engagement. Only with Jody Powell does Carter have the kind of father-son relationship that so many politicians develop with young members of their staff.

As the campaign turned sour in late September and early October, Carter spent most of his time in the front of his plane with Powell and Greg Schneiders, his personal assistant, who controls access to Carter but who has not developed the deep moral and intellectual bond that connects Carter and Powell. Carter communicated with the rest of his staff through memos, but got most of his face-to-face argument from Powell.

This is partly because Powell, who has been with Carter for seven years, understands him so well that he has learned how to say things without upsetting his boss.

When the going gets tough, a leader has a tendency to want to deal with people who know how to express themselves without disturbing him more than he already is. I'd guess that there are quite a few executives who are quick to condemn Haldemans in the White House but who in their own organizations tend in time of crisis to communicate through one or two associates who can be relied on to ration the bad news into portions that are endurable.

The problem with this relationship, on the evidence of the campaign, was that Powell could not check some of Carter's less charming tendencies. One thing that troubled me during the campaign was the occasional evidence that Carter can be petty, vindictive, even nasty. One case that most people remember came when Hubert Humphrey withdrew from the race and Carter graciously commented that his only regret was being deprived of the chance to beat the Senator in the New Jersey primary. Another was after Carter had criticized Clarence Kelly for accepting the free valances from the FBI carpentry shop, and reporters reminded him that Kelly's wife had been dying at the time. Carter replied, "Well, I see he's remarrying now!"

On the Friday after his election as President, Carter held a press conference at the Pond House in Plains. Television was excluded. The purpose was obvious to television reporters. They were being punished for what the Carter people thought was unfair coverage during the campaign. Who was behind this particular piece of pettiness?

"The idea for having the session with print reporters came from Jody Powell," wrote James R. Dickenson of *The Washington Star.* There is not, however, enough evidence to say that Powell is the Iago behind every such episode. Even if he is, it must be remembered that every Iago needs an Othello, someone who has enough potential nastiness within him to rise to the bait.

These examples of pettiness may be of trivial importance in a Carter presidency. But nothing did more to deflate my enthusiasm for Carter than

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the mean spirit displayed by the Humphrey and Kelly remarks—and I can't help thinking that a President can't get away with too many remarks of a similarly ungenerous nature without losing the affection and respect of his people.

Another thing that worries me about Carter and Powell is that neither of them is a lawyer. I know for some readers I might as well be worried that neither man is a sadomasochist. But when people reach the position of needing criticism and preparation as much as a presidential candidate—or a President—does, there are a few disadvantages to not being a lawyer, and one of them was clear in the first debate. Carter prepared himself by learning facts from his briefing books and doing only a little talking with his advisors, chiefly Powell. There was nowhere evident the kind of tough cross-examination that Theodore Sorenson and Richard Goodwin, two hungry and gifted lawyers, gave John Kennedy in 1960. Kennedy was prepared; Carter wasn't.

There are many things wrong with lawyers, but the good ones learn that the only way they can be sure to do their best is to ask themselves, in advance, the toughest questions the other side might ask, and then to expose their answers to hostile scrutiny from their associates. There is, in addition, a night-and-day difference in the mental stimulation one gets from oral argument as distinguished from the passive perusal of written material, which by the way is an important reason for not restricting dissent to memoranda as the Carter people do now. Carter did rehearse for the second and third debates, and his improvement was obvious.

My favorite example of Carter's failure to rehearse was one that he somehow got away with. In the first debate, he praised Richard Nixon as a "strong President" who "worked with a Democratic Congress very well." Only Evans and Novak among the press noted that this scarcely seemed a fruitful line for a Democratic candidate to be taking. Carter's briefing book had told him that even fewer bills had passed under Ford than under Nixon. Because Carter merely memorized the information without trying out his answers on a Sorensen or Goodwin, no one told him that there might be a better way to make the point.

There were other reasons for Carter's poor showing in the first debate. The whole Carter entourage has a strong distaste for the staged Nixon campaign described in *The*

UPI

Selling of the President 1968. They believed that rehearsal was bad because Nixon did it. Another factor was Carter's intellectual arrogance. He believed his spontaneous answers would be better than Ford's rehearsed ones. This faith in spontaneous utterance got Carter into trouble throughout the campaign, from ethnic purity to the "screw" and "shack up" of the *Playboy* interview. (The latter, by the way, Powell had three weeks to correct, but either he failed to read

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the transcript of the interview or failed to see that it might present problems for Carter.)

Carter's intellectual arrogance can be explained in part by the fact that he ran his own small business successfully for 20 years. You don't have a lot of staff to consult with in a small business. You grow accustomed to making decisions alone. And if these decisions turn out for the most part to be right, you grow accustomed to thinking you don't need anyone but yourself. You don't get in the habit of seeking the advice of others. And if your only experience prior to having that business is in the command structure of the Navy, you at best become accustomed to talking decisions over with one person, your executive officer. He in turn gives you absolute loyalty outside the captain's cabin, which is just what Powell gives to Carter.

Apart from the first debate, there was one other illustration of Carter's resistance to certain kinds of advice. During the entire general election campaign Carter displayed a tendency to fight the last war, obeying the rule of human nature that led the French to prepare for World War I as if it would be an instant replay of the Franco-Prussian War (leaving the Germans free to invade through Belgium) and that now leads our military to emphasize the helicopters that worked in Vietnam but which will be useless if we ever fight a country that has an air force. In the case of the Carter campaign, this meant campaigning in the fall the same way he had in the primaries, frantically trying to get free publicity on the evening news by hitting three or four television markets in one day*, answering any question asked by anyone who thrust a microphone in his face, and—as a result of his exhaustion and his faith in the spontaneous utterance—making one misstatement after another.

While scrambling from Sacramento to Albuquerque to St. Louis, Carter did not even check his commercials that were appearing on prime-time television. Instead, he put tremendous effort into getting on the evening news programs—as he did in the primaries, when he didn't have the money for commercials and often didn't care what the reporters said about him as long as they got his name right. He never seemed to realize two truths about TV and the general election campaign. The first is that TV news shows at their best do not reach half the audience of the prime-time shows. The second is that a candidate cannot control what goes on the evening news. This is not so much of a problem in the early days of a campaign when the simple facts about you are news, but once you've become familiar, only your mistakes are reported. The *Playboy* interview will be featured, instead of the things you're planning to do for the country. The only way to get your points across is through paid, prime-time commercials. Yet Carter and Powell persisted in looking upon these commercials as tainted with Nixonism.

They seemed not to understand that you don't have to use commercials to lie. They can tell the truth about yourself and your programs that is obscured by the daily diet of triviality from the newspaper and television reporters. Powell and Carter were justifiably furious at the amount of attention given the *Playboy* interview and the persistent implication by the press that Carter had somehow advocated sexual immorality. Ford must have been similarly incensed at the colossal deal made out of his remarks about Eastern Europe. There was absolutely nothing in the long public record of Jerry Ford to suggest that he for one instant had sympathized with Soviet domination of

*Here's a report from Lee Lescaze in *The Washington Post*:

"What did the campaign gain today? a Carter aide was asked after a one-day trip from Plains to Columbia, S.C., to Marion, Ill., Moline, Ill., and Chicago during which Carter had said nothing of significance.

" 'We were in four markets instead of the usual three,' was the instant reply."

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Eastern Europe. But the press is that way, and the question is what to do about it. Ford reacted with excellent paid television material of his own. Carter and Powell bitched to the press but did nothing on their own. The precedent is not hopeful.

Men are especially apt to want to re-fight the last war if they won it, particularly if they had originally been scorned by the experts. Thus Powell's response to criticism of the general election campaign was an impatient "Look, it worked before, you guys were wrong then and you're wrong now." And two weeks into the transition, when Carter's original team of Georgia advisors was being appointed to the major White House positions, Hamilton Jordan answered criticism of the "Georgia Mafia" this way (according to Martin Schram and Jim Klurfeld of *Newsday*):

"At every level of the campaign, that is what we heard—when is he going to bring in more experienced people and get rid of that Georgia group? We heard it when we won in the primaries, and when we got the nomination, and we will hear it again."

As for Carter—and Mrs. Carter—it seems likely that just as large a factor in their general election behavior as doing again what had brought them victory in the primaries was their compulsively high expectation of themselves, of how hard they should work. Many Presidents would have had their pictures taken with arms loaded down by briefing books as they departed for their vacations. Carter is probably the first to actually read them.

I'm convinced we need a hard-working President. There is much that needs to be done in Washington and most of it is exceedingly difficult. But the trouble with the Carters in the general election is that they were doing the wrong hard work, shouting through defective microphones to endless street-corner rallies words that could hardly be understood on the evening news, if indeed the news chose to run those words instead of some account of a candidate's mistake or pontification about a change in momentum. The Carters could have been in a quiet studio in sure control of what they wanted to say and able to say it with the quiet, calm strength they both have at their best. But they would have felt guilty in that studio, as if they weren't doing their all unless they went to bed exhausted every night.

We can't have a President who is exhausted, or a presidential staff as worn out as the Carter staff was during the last month of the campaign.

I suspect Carter's high expectation of himself has another adverse effect. I don't think it's possible for him to examine his mistakes dispassionately, a process that is essential if similar errors are to be avoided in the future. It's not that Carter is unaware of his mistakes, it's that he's too painfully aware of them, so self-reproaching about his responsibility for error that he can't stand to dwell on it.

In the last week of the campaign, when the polls showed that Carter might actually lose, reporters on Carter's plane saw that Powell and Schneiders minimized Carter's contact with Stuart Eizenstat, the most pessimistic of Carter's advisors, who was recommending last-minute changes in the television-commercial strategy. One of my friends who has worked for Carter, Powell, and Eizenstat, and admires them all, told me he thought this was not because Powell wanted to wish bad news away, but because Carter took his own failings so seriously that Powell wanted to spare him this extra burden in the last few days of the campaign.

Powell was being kind to his boss. The same kind of thing must have happened in the five days between the Sunday appearance of the *Playboy* interview and Carter's Friday visit to Texas. Carter was being hit with the lust, screw, and shack-up quotes. The first debate was coming up. Powell did not want to burden him with a re-

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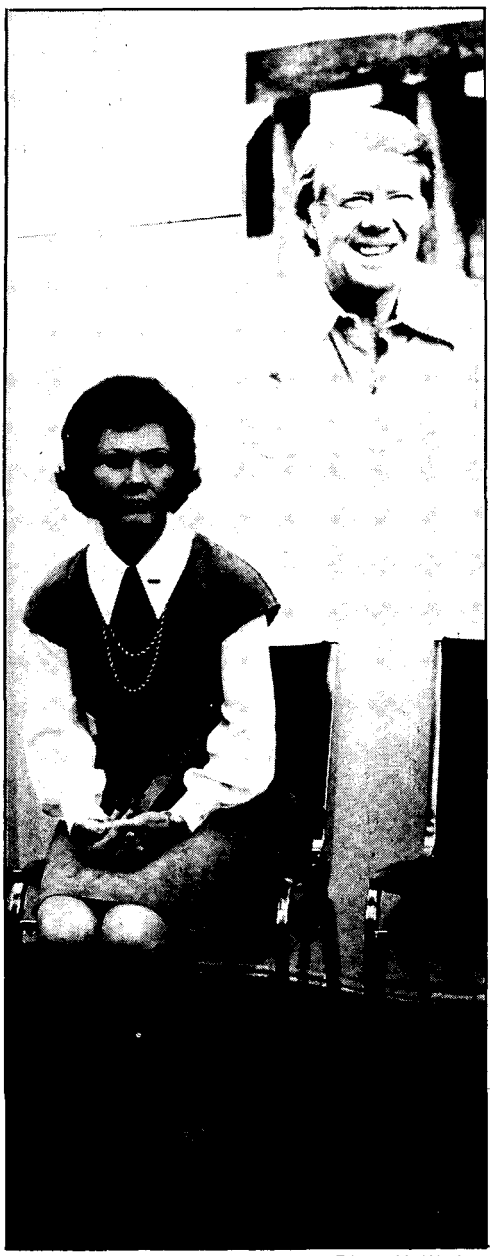

Diana H. Walker

minder that on Friday they were going to have to face the Texas press, who would be sure to inquire about Carter's attack on Johnson in the *Playboy* interview. So Carter arrived in Texas unprepared and told the first questioner that *Playboy* had taken his remarks about Johnson out of context, a lie that he had to retract later in the day.

Powell is not a simple careerist who sees his relationship to Carter only as a way to get ahead. Carter picked him up from the floor seven years ago, gave him a job after he had been thrown out of the Air Force Academy for cheating—an act of charity that says something about the amount of Christianity and bird-dog instinct for talent in Carter and about the degree of devotion and dependence that could have been inspired in Powell.

Powell's dependence on Carter is, I think, a diminishing danger. As his abilities become widely known, he will not lack for the kind of job offers that free a man from fear of his boss.

His devotion worries me more. There will be times when he should not protect Carter, when he shouldn't try to ration the bad news into endurable portions. It's possible that a President in the space of a few minutes could hear 1) that the Russians have launched their missiles, 2) that the Polaris submarines are all in port for the weekend, and 3) that General Brown has launched a preventive strike against Israel. His staff must tell him the truth. They can try to help him bear it and deal with it, but they must not protect him from it. He in turn must discipline himself to demand the truth from his subordinates, to never punish bearers of ill tidings but instead to punish those who try to protect him from the bad news.

This point was best made at the time the White House staff refused to let Walter Hickel, the Secretary of Interior, see President Nixon to express Hickel's dissent about the war in Southeast Asia and Hickel's staff then leaked to the press a letter expressing that concern. The following dialogue ensued between a White House staff member and a Hickel assistant:

"If you find the son of a bitch responsible for leaking that letter, I want you to fire him."

"If you find the son of a bitch responsible for not letting Hickel see the President, I want you to fire him."■

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Off-Off-Broadway Has Lessons For Us All

by Nicholas Lemann

East Fourth Street in New York City, in the neighborhood called the Lower East Village, certainly would have been called run down, a slum even, by anyone who walked down it ten or 20 years ago. To the untrained eye, in fact, it's a slum today. It's lined with out-of-repair buildings with sagging fire escapes, and during the daytime it looks deserted.

East Fourth Street is the Great White Way of Off-Off-Broadway theater. A good many of its rotted buildings hold theaters (too grand a word for what they are, maybe; anyway, spaces where plays are put on). In a converted hot dog factory near the Bowery on East Fourth is the oldest and most famous Off-Off-Broadway theater, La Mama E.T.C. (for Experimental Theater Club), which moved there after a nomadic career in East Village and Lower East Side lofts and cellars. On the corner is Phebe's, a bar that Wilford Leach, artistic director of La Mama, calls "the Sardi's of Off-Off-Broadway." On any given weekend, as many as a dozen plays might be put on in a two- or three-block stretch of East Fourth Street. For all the unimpressiveness of its appearance, the street is the center of a burgeoning movement that has been a watershed in the history of the American theater, a movement into which foundation money flows freely, in which words like genius and legend are bandied about, to which the most serious sort of attention is paid.

Off-Off-Broadway has become far more than just another Lower Manhattan avant-garde theater movement of the sort that has existed fairly continuously (except during World War II) since before 1920. It is more avowedly experimental and flouting of convention than past movements, although they were experimental too; it is the object of more critical and scholarly attention than its predecessors, although they got some attention too; and it is far bigger than any

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non-commerical theater movement in America has ever been.

The magnitude of Off-Off-Broadway is what is most obviously new and unusual about it. It is so diffuse and fluid now that nobody can say for sure exactly how big it is. Most estimates put the number of Off-Off-Broadway companies and theaters (all playing to audiences of less than 100, none having the faintest hope of breaking even on box-office receipts) at 150 to 200. Each one puts on a certain number of plays a year, usually between three and ten, so that the number of different plays performed in a year on Off-Off-Broadway seems—one can only guess—to be between 500 and 1,000. On a Saturday night in October, the schedule of the Off-Off-Broadway Alliance, a somewhat selective coordinating organization, lists 40 different performances. It is probably safe to say that never has the total number of plays produced in New York City in a year been higher. By comparison, in the busiest season of Broadway, 1927-28, there were 264 productions, and at that point Broadway was basically it, since there was no Off- or Off-Off. In 1950-51, a more typical year, there were 87 Broadway shows.

All this growth has taken place during the last 20 years, and the preponderance of it within the last ten. The adversity—cultural, political, and especially economic—that kept anything like Off-Off-Broadway from developing for years and years also attended its birth. The movement remains outrageously disobedient of the laws of economic rationality. At a time when most areas of American life are thought to be ossifying and losing their creativity, the non-commercial theater has flowered. There's nothing comparable to it in business or government today, and the only analog that comes to mind in the arts is rock music, which is far less concentrated, more commercial, and better known. The rapid and, in most of America, unnoticed growth of Off-Off-Broadway stands in sharp contrast to the general trend in our national institutions. The reasons Off-Off-Broadway has flourished are, in reverse, the reasons everything else hasn't, and the story of Off-Off-Broadway's rise is an object lesson in what most areas of American life sorely lack. In some ways what has happened to the New York theater in the last 20 years could have happened only to the New York theater, but in some ways it could have happened everywhere, and it didn't.

A Central Institution

Off-Off-Broadway grew up in response to deficiencies in Broadway, and its roots lie there. Like most of the great bureaucratic institutions in America today, Broadway began in the early years of this century, in response to the increasing accumulation of people and money in cities, especially New York. There was always theater in America, of course, but in the early decades of the 20th century a series of great theaters was built in and around Times Square in New York, and all the major talent in the country began to be concentrated there. Early Broadway had no artistic pretentions, and consisted of simple and entertaining melodramas and comedies and reviews, but it did attract a great deal of attention and audiences. It grew steadily until the mid-20s.

In the late 20s and 30s, Broadway even began to take on some artistic merit. The musical comedy became fully developed as an art form, as at the same time did the first great American drama. George S. Kaufman and Eugene O'Neill were writing, the Barrymores acting, the Shubert brothers producing, and great sums of money being made. The middle and upper classes, from New York and elsewhere, flocked to Broadway. Times Square became the nerve center of New York City; the theater was one of the central institutions by which the city and the culture defined themselves.

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The movies and the Depression hurt Broadway's size, if not its quality, in the 30s; and it lagged, as did everything else in the arts, during World War II. But shortly thereafter Broadway picked up and flowered again. It continued to produce new talent, and to draw sizable audiences into the early fifties. Broadway was aesthetically and commercially successful and was essentially the only theater in New York. Then it began to die.

The reasons for the decline of Broadway are many and varied, and it is hard to single out one as being of overriding importance. Television hurt a good deal. The middle class began to move to the suburbs, and its journeys to Broadway became more and more sporadic. Crime in New York City began to rise, particularly in Times Square, which became a truly unpleasant place to go. The fire code prevented building offices over theaters, so theaters that were in operation only several nights a week, nine months a year, became an inefficient way to use increasingly valuable Manhattan real estate. Many of the finest old theaters, particularly the ones on 42nd Street, began as early as the thirties to be sold and converted into movie houses, which could make money virtually around the clock; and after the war those houses turned more and more to porno films. Today people watch movies like *Fantasex* and *The Joy of Letting Go* in the crumbling remains of what were once the greatest stages in the world.

Perhaps most important, however, was the changing economics of producing a Broadway show. As audiences were drawn off, the price of mounting a production skyrocketed, from about $10,000 in 1920 to as much as $500,000 for a play and $1 million, or even more, for a musical today. The huge rise in costs was the result of many factors, including dwindling audiences, but unions certainly played a major role. In 1920 there were no really effective unions in the theater; in the fifties they grew to power, even dominance; and now, to stage a Broadway show, a producer has to sign 13 different union contracts, all replete with featherbedding.

Phographs by Howard Read

East Fourth Street, The Great White Way of Off-Off-Broadway

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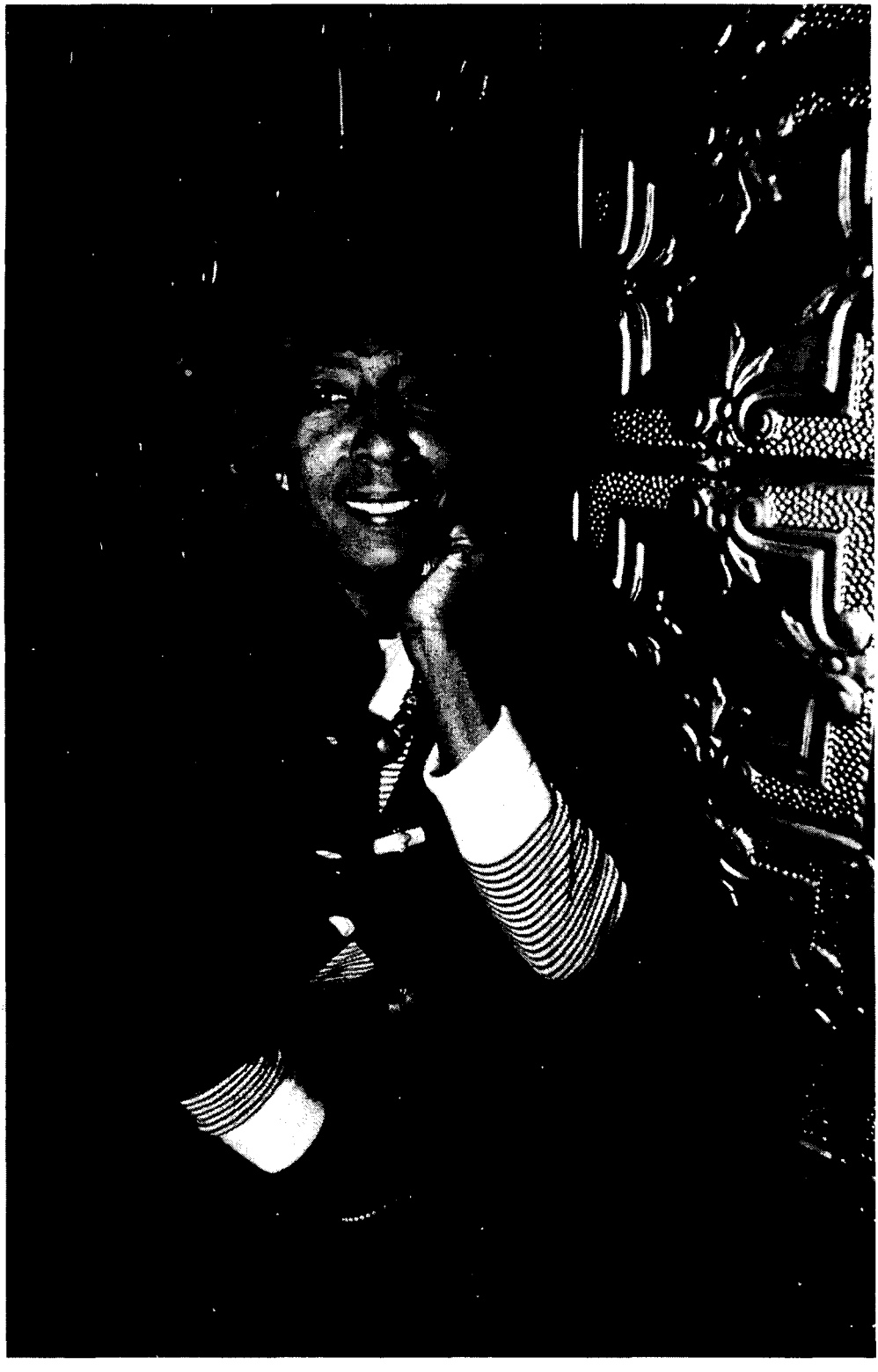

Ellen Stewart, founder of La Mama E.T.C.

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For seven minutes of music, he has to hire a full orchestra; to move some sets across the street, he has to call in the Teamsters to work full crews full days, at enormous expense.

The depths of Broadway's decline came in the late sixties. In 1967-68 Broadway lost $5 million. In 1969 there were 36 Broadway theaters, and ten of them were unused. In 1969-70, the worst season, there were only 62 productions, and the theaters sold 46.5 per cent of their capacity.

The enormous expense of a Broadway production severely hampered whatever creativity existed on Broadway. Because of the size of the investment that went into it, a show had to be a huge success or its producer would lose his shirt. Anything less than rave reviews, big stars, lavish production, and already proven formulas made a new Broadway show wildly risky. So the producers tended to stick with glossy, formulaic material, particularly revivals of past musical comedy successes. Since the break-even rate on Broadway was something like one in ten, it was hardly prudent economically to try anything else, any new material or techniques or talent. As a result, ironically, Broadway fell even further, since audiences tired of remake after remake and ever increasing prices; but still, playing the percentages, there was little else a producer could do. Broadway had become another oversized, overbudgeted, stagnant, dying institution.

Its ills created substantial pools of disaffection—among audiences to some extent, but much more so among two crucial groups of people. One was fairly small and its members might be called intellectuals. They were playwrights, critics, directors, and actors who wanted to see the theater move in new, creative directions, and were frustrated by its artistic stagnation. The second group, much larger and made up chiefly of actors, was frustrated because it wanted to work in theater and, since Broadway 7 as so small and so reliant on established talent, couldn't. The two groups are not mutually exclusive, of course, but they are fairly distinct. Each has played a major part in the Off-Off-Broadway boom, but each group's side of Off-Off-Broadway has been quite distinct from the other's, so that now Off-Off-Broadway is really two movements in a strange symbiotic relationship.

A Whole New Ball Game

Before Off-Off-Broadway there was Off-Broadway, but that was hardly the same. Off-Broadway began in the early fifties, in response to the blindnesses of Broadway; and it was centered in Greenwich Village and concerned with new and different material. But Off-Broadway generally bought the basic premise of the American theater—what was good was to put on a play on a stage and to make money at it. Off-Broadway has always gone on in medium-sized (100 to 500 seats) theaters, with traditional rehearsal and staging times; it has always been reviewed by the critics, and has depended on those reviews for its success. Nowadays, aside from size and location, Broadway and Off-Broadway are practically the same thing: commercial theater that rigidly divides plays into successes and failures usually according to box-office receipts.

Off-Off-Broadway is a different story entirely, a whole new ball game, and its origins are now appropriately shrouded in myth. People disagree on when it started, who started it, and what they were trying to do, but here is their chief inspiration, whoever they were: If a group of people really wanted to put on a play, they could just *put on a play*. They didn't need much money. They didn't need backers. They didn't need the unions. They didn't need name actors, writers, or directors. They didn't need to get reviewed. They didn't need sets, lighting, or costumes. They hardly even needed audiences, and it didn't matter much whether or not whoever came

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paid. All they needed was a place to stage whatever it was they were staging, and even that certainly didn't need to be, in fact couldn't be, a theater.

What is striking about Off-Off-Broadway is that it took until roughly 1960 for somebody to think it up. All along, there were thousands of actors, directors, and playwrights dying to put on plays, but it simply never occurred to anyone that this could be done without having at least a good sum of money and a real theater, two prerequisites that just in themselves severely limit what can be staged. So deeply ingrained was this prejudice in the minds of everybody in the theater that Off-Off-Broadway was in fact invented almost by accident, by people who had no right to be starting a new theater movement, who in fact were almost completely unfamiliar with the theater. They were the only ones who didn't know Off-Off-Broadway couldn't be done, so they were the ones who did it.

The Founding Mother

There is argument about when the first, official beginning of Off-Off-Broadway was, and about what the motives behind it were. Some say the first Off-Off-Broadway production was Alfred Jarry's *King Ubu*, which opened at the Take Three coffeehouse in Greenwich Village on September 27, 1960. Some say Joe Cino, who came from Rochester to the Village to start a coffeehouse and held poetry readings that evolved into dramatic reading that evolved into plays, started Off-Off-Broadway, perhaps just as a way of drumming up business. Some say Ellen Stewart, a clothing designer from New Orleans, who opened her first La Mama coffeehouse on East Twelfth Street in 1960, was the dominant figure. All the versions of Off-Off-Broadway's genesis do, however, agree that it began in coffeehouses and not theaters, so perhaps that was the movement's chief distinguishing characteristic.

Ellen Stewart has emerged, anyway, as Off-Off-Broadway's official founding mother. Wilford Leach, La Mama's artistic director, says Stewart decided to start a theater after her brother had a disastrous experience trying to direct a play on Broadway (*The Vamp*, starring Carol Channing, 1959, one of the worst of flops). "Ellen Stewart is one of those people who thinks, 'I want one of my own if they don't want me,'" Leach says. "She rented a basement that could seat ten people. The stage was large enough for a bed. She invited people she met on the street to come, and to write plays. Her philosophy was, if you want to do it, do it. Just do it. And they did it."

They did. People started to come to Ellen Stewart, wanting to put on plays, wanting to act, wanting to help. Everything was very ad hoc in those days. Everybody was broke, and they drove a lot of cabs and waited on a lot of tables to make ends meet. La Mama kept having to move, because city fire inspectors kept kicking it out of wherever it was; for years, Stewart had a running battle with Robert Moses, and she decided to append Experimental Theater Club to La Mama's name (the name was a reference to herself, of course) because someone told her that Moses couldn't meddle with clubs.

Other theaters were starting to spring up, and a circle of Off-Off-Broadway actors and playwrights and directors began to develop, but the movement was still practically unknown. All of it, the beginnings of what some people now think of as one of the great periods in the arts in America, went on in slums and near-slums below and east of Greenwich Village, in commercial lofts, and leaky basements, unadvertised and late at night, masterminded by a bunch of cab drivers and dishwashers.

No respectable critic, or theatergoer for that matter, would go near Off-Off-Broadway; the Village itself was far enough. Nobody but the *Village Voice* would review Off-Off-

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Crowds leaving the revival of "My Fair Lady" on Broadway

Broadway productions, and at that point nobody uptown read the *Voice*. Legend has it that Joe Papp, now the undisputed emperor of Broadway, Off-Broadway, and Off-Off-Broadway simultaneously (and another person Robert Moses tried to destroy), once got so frustrated that no critics would come to his free Shakespeare in Central Park that he lay in wait outside *The New York Times* building in a pickup truck, intending to kidnap the venerable critic Brooks Atkinson and force him to watch a Papp production. Whatever progress Off-Off-Broadway had made, the old Broadway mindset persisted among the theater establishment.

An Ideal Climate

Toward the middle of the sixties the tide began to turn, not least because of the general temper of the times. Suddenly Bohemianism in America was not something confined to a few blocks in Lower Manhattan, but a huge nationwide movement. It attracted, in its various political and cultural forms, millions of people and lots of attention. Somehow, perhaps because of the Vietnam war, the message had gotten across that the Broadway way of doing things wasn't necessarily the right way, that in fact it was usually wrong, that the truth lay outside of it. The people who planned Vietnam were the Broadway of politics, and in rebellion against them the Off-Off-Broadway attitude spread throughout the society. Experimentation was widely tolerated, encouraged, even revered. It was the ideal climate for Off-Off-Broadway to flourish.

Some more concrete things began to happen. In December 1965 *The New York Times Magazine* ran an article on Off-Off-Broadway by Elenore Lester, a writer, teacher, and key figure in the movement; it was the first time the *Times* had paid Off-Off-Broadway major attention. Around that time Ellen Stewart decided that since nobody in New York would review La Mama, she would take it on

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a European tour. She brought home all the rave reviews La Mama had gotten, got friends to translate them, and took them around to the New York critics, who began to review La Mama. (To this day, Off-Off-Broadway is far better known and more honored in Europe than in America; particularly in academic circles there, all Off-Off-Broadway's principals are regarded as great heroes and enduring geniuses, people who have boldly reshaped the theater.) One day shortly thereafter a man showed up at La Mama and took Ellen Stewart out to dinner at a deli on Second Avenue. He turned out to be with the Ford Foundation, which from then on has been La Mama's principal support. La Mama bought and renovated its East Fourth Street building, and the government and foundations started to give money to Off-Off-Broadway regularly.

Off-Off-Broadway was not just in coffeehouses by this time. It had begun to develop ensemble groups—actors and directors who put on productions in close collaboration, very experimental and avant-garde, very serious and important artistically. The ensembles took the Off-Off-Broadway idea one step further: if there was no need for a theater or money to put on a play, then there also was no need to stick to the conventions of drama. Economic inspiration began to be joined by artistic inspiration. Directors started to explore different approaches to audiences, to lines, to characters, to staging. They tried a lot of wild stuff, on the old theory that if you want to do it, do it, and although some of it was junk a lot of it was something else entirely.

Pure Genius

In the spring of 1968 a director named Andre Gregory arrived at the New York University's new School of the Arts to give a workshop for the school's first graduating class of actors, and at the end of it he asked five people to join him in starting an ensemble called the Manhattan Project. At that point Gregory was regarded as a very talented man, but down on his luck. He had had a flop on Broadway, and had been fired as director of a theater company in Philadelphia. He had lost all interest in traditional theater.

Gregory's group went into rehearsal. At first they had no idea what they were going to perform, and spent their time getting to know one another and doing a strange set of exercises called the Plastiques, which had been devised by the Polish director Jerzy Grotowski. Eventually the group decided to do an adaptation of *Alice in Wonderland*, which they sort of made up as they went along, throwing in a lot of humor and very physical movement and sordid details from Lewis Carroll's life. They rehearsed for *two years* before putting on a single performance—this was absolutely unheard of; rehearsals even in elaborate Broadway musicals lasted maybe five weeks. When *Alice* was finally staged . . . Pure Genius! Two years of sellout performances, ecstatic critical acclaim, followed by more success in other productions. Foundation money flowed in.

By this time the ensemble groups were getting the most serious critical attention imaginable. Not only were they reviewed, not only did they regularly and triumphantly tour Europe and America, but they were studied in universities, were the subject of books and Ph. D. dissertations. Even at its height Broadway hadn't had this kind of intellectual credentials. The five or six leading ensemble groups, although a tiny numerical minority of the Off-Off-Broadway movement, were the most instrumental in putting Off-Off-Broadway on the serious-drama map. They took barren sets and wild innovation past the level of poverty-stricken adolescent enthusiasm and elevated it to Art. They made Off-Off-Broadway truly avant-garde.

In 1969 the Performance Group, another ensemble whose guiding spirit

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was an NYU professor named Richard Schechner, put on a play called *Dionysius in '69*, which, whether for its artistic merit or its profuse nudity, attracted a great deal of attention. Also that year an Ellen Stewart protege named Tom O'Horgan brought the first Off-Off-Broadway production to Broadway, a play called *Hair*, which was a huge success. By 1970 the National Endowment for the Arts, the New York State Council on the Arts, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and many others were putting a good bit of money into Off-Off-Broadway—not enough, God knows, to take it out of the East Village, or to give it plush seats and elaborate sets, or even to relieve everyone of driving cabs, but enough to guarantee that if it maintained its original pluck it would survive.

The Villain of the Piece

There has been only one serious and concerted threat to Off-Off-Broadway since the mid-sixties, and that has come from the Actors' Equity Association, the running villain of the piece. Equity is the only theatrical union that has had anything to do with Off-Off-Broadway, since the movement has never come near a set designer or an orchestra, and from the start it seems to have had trouble figuring out exactly what was going on.

Equity was founded in 1913 and grew to power in the 1920s because actors were being exploited. Supply so wildly exceeded demand in the theatrical job market that actors would work under any conditions a producer could dream up, as long as it was work. Equity was supposed to protect actors from the rapacity of producers, and incidentally from their own weakness for being willing victims of that rapacity. So when Off-Off-Broadway came along, it seemed to fit right in to the old scheme: here were actors, working for nothing, being exploited again. Equity assumed actors are economic beings to a greater extent than they really are, so it figured the reason they were acting on Off-Off-Broadway was in hopes of being spotted by an agent or producer who would put them on Broadway.

Equity dealt with Off-Off-Broadway by writing something called the Showcase Code, which says Equity actors can work for less than regular scale only in a non-Equity theater, with no admission charge, no advertising, and no more than 12 performances. The code sounds a little crazy, but the idea was to make sure that nobody was making any money off of unpaid actors. A showcase production that was good would move to Off-Broadway, in which case the actors would go up to regular union scale. Otherwise, as far as Equity was concerned, there was no point in having Off-Off-Broadway. The showcase model was the only explanation of why the damn thing went on that made any sense.

But acting is not something that people will only do for money or the promise of money, like most kinds of work. Through last year, Equity and Off-Off-Broadway fought a bitter battle over the Showcase Code. The actors turned against Equity, siding with management instead of labor. Generally the more serious the Off-Off-Broadway actor or director, the more he scorned Equity. The Manhattan Project and its ilk, for instance, have always steered far clear of Equity, since, according to Equity's way of thinking, someone like Andre Gregory, who put actors through two years of rehearsals unpaid, was nothing but a greedy boss out to maximize his own profits. Now, after a series of bitter and complex battles running roughly from 1966 to 1975, Equity and Off-Off-Broadway are at relative peace. Equity is beginning to loosen up its showcase code to allow for the occasional charging of admission, taking out of advertising, and other things that make the staging of low-budget productions less than impossible.

As a matter of fact, Off-Off-Broad-

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way has been a godsend to actors, for reasons having to do partly with art, partly with showcasing, and not at all with money. Actors make up a strange, driven subculture in New York. There are perhaps 10,000, maybe more, and in any given year 80 to 90 per cent are unemployed. Something like 95 per cent are on federal unemployment compensation for at least part of every year, and only a tiny fraction actually have steady work all year long. The number of jobs that are considered both desirable and remunerative is practically nonexistent. Even on the off-chance that success comes to an actor, it's not like success coming to a professional of another sort, because likely as not it will one day evaporate as quickly as it materialized.

Insecurity and Dues-Paying

The average New York actor lives something like this: He comes to New York from college, drama school, summer theater, or even a farm in Kansas or a soda fountain in North Carolina, determined to be either a star, a great artist, or, usually, both. He finds a cheap walk-up apartment near the Lower East Side, which he furnishes with a telephone and not much else. He gets an answering service, some 8 by 10 glossy portraits, and what's called a shopper's ticket, which lets you ride the buses all day free. He goes out and buys a trade paper like *Backstage*, and takes off.

The aspiring actor spends virtually all day riding the buses around New York. On his rounds, he stops in at agents' offices and tries to persuade them to represent him. He goes to auditions and casting calls (known to actors as cattle calls), which are announced in *Backstage* and other papers. He goes to an acting class, mostly because it gives him a rare chance to act. He stops by advertising agencies, to see if there are any commercials or print jobs (posing for newspaper and magazine advertisements) available. He checks out the modeling agencies, and he tries to wangle auditions for movies and soap operas. Everywhere he goes he drops off a resume and some glossies, and when he's done with his rounds he dashes home and calls his answering service to see if anyone wants him to audition. If they do, he gets to stand around for hours with a bunch of other actors waiting to do one-minute speeches that have almost no chance of winning them a part. At night, he'll drive a lot of cabs and wait on a lot of tables.

Maybe after a while the actor will get a lucky break: work in a commercial, or a bit part in a movie, or a place in the chorus of a musical, or a more sizable part on Off-Off-Broadway. If he does, he may take out an ad in *Backstage* saying that he's appearing in a play, and hope there are agents and producers in the audience.

Virtually everybody in the theater started out this way, and insecurity and dues-paying are universal experiences. God knows why they keep doing it, given the hustle and poverty it entails, but they do. Almost none of them are consciously ascetic; almost all, when asked, say sure, they'd rather be on Park Avenue than Avenue A. But their primary motive in life is to act, and it overrides all the other motives, like security and materialism. There continue to be just enough phenomenal success stories in the acting profession to keep everyone fueled up. Almost everyone seems to know someone who knows someone who made it big, and, actors not being overburdened with modesty, each one seems to think he'll be the one to beat the terrible odds and make it.

When Off-Off-Broadway began to draw a good deal of attention and respect, this ravenous horde descended on it. Some actors, like the elite crew in the ensembles, wanted to try new and daring things that they couldn't do in the traditional theater; most just wanted to act before an audience, which before Off-Off-Broadway was an incredibly difficult thing to do. (Hence acting classes, which

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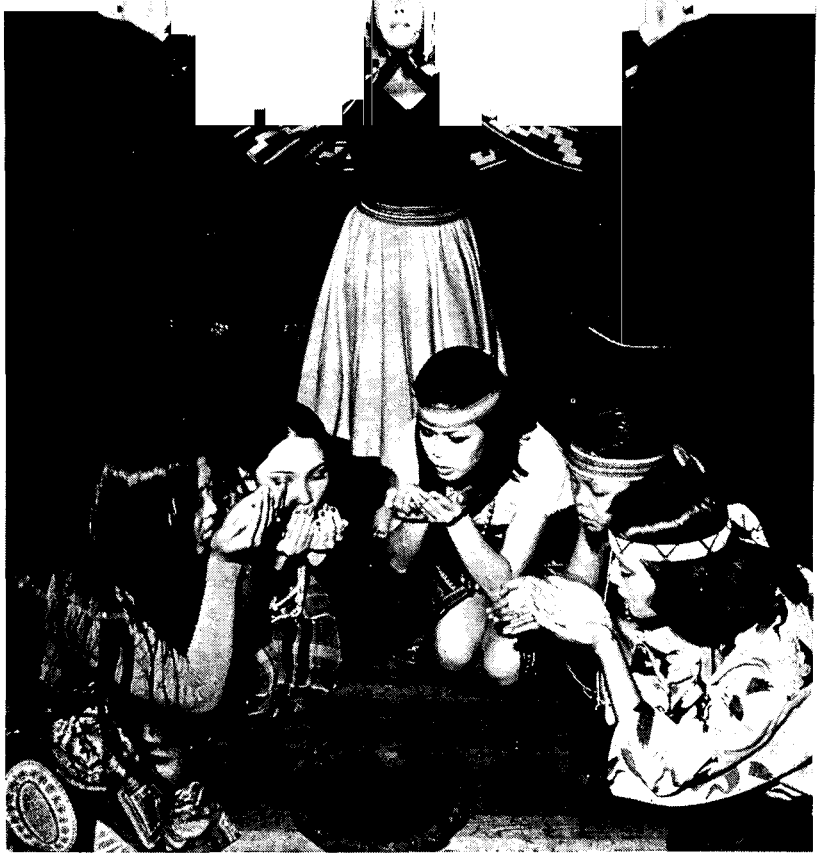

A La Mama performance

people joined not so much to learn as to be on stage, are now in a decline.) Now that others had shown that you could put on a play for practically no money and that you could lure agents, critics, and producers below Fourteenth Street, the great mass of actors—leading ladies, stand-up comics, character actors, crooners, child stars—started working on Off-Off-Broadway. They are the ones who make up the numerical boom. They are the ones who put on the showcase productions that make up most of Off-Off-Broadway.

The line between artists and showcasers isn't all that distinct, of course. Most actors in the showcase productions probably consider themselves artists, and most in the ensembles get a thrill out of looking across the footlights at an enthusiastic packed house. Still, the two groups are distinguishable, and the hierarchy of motivations in their members is different, and one is much bigger than the other. The groups are not bosom companions, exactly; the ensembles seem to see the showcases as hack work, and the showcases seem to see the ensembles as weirdos. Still, both groups are important in lending Off-Off-Broadway its vitality, albeit in quite different ways. Both keep the movement active, disorganized, and receptive to practically anything.

An Anarchic Product Testing Lab

Just recently, Broadway has started to make a comeback. The number of shows and of paying customers is up, and there's more work; and although there are still a lot of revivals there's been some new stuff too. Joseph Papp now has two big hits on Broadway, both of which according to the traditional formulas should have been abysmal flops. Neither show—*A Chorus Line* and *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide When the Rainbow Is Enuf*—has a name star, and neither is by a name writer. *Colored Girls* was first put on

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by total unknowns in the Henry Street housing project in lower Manhattan. Papp has scouts out looking at plays in all sorts of obscure places, and when he finds something good he nurses it along gradually, bringing it first to his Off-Off-Broadway Public Theater and then, if it has potential, on to Lincoln Center or Broadway. That way Broadway becomes enriched by appropriating the best ideas from Off-Off-Broadway, so that Off-Off-Broadway becomes something like a giant, anarchic product-testing lab; and, since Papp pours his Broadway profits back into the Public Theater, Off-Off-Broadway benefits too. It's safe to say that whatever renewed success Broadway is having it owes in part to Off-Off-Broadway.

Breaking Down the Barriers

There's a certain mindset to which, notwithstanding all the other circumstances, Off-Off-Broadway really owes its success. The people who are involved in it, although mostly college-educated and of middle-class origin, are different in basic ways from most middle-class Americans. They live for different things, and judge themselves differently. A lot more people enter the theater than stay in it, and the ones who think it sounds glamorous, who want to lead the theater life, are usually the ones who leave.

It's not that those who stay are saints, above compromise—most compromise themselves all the time when they do commercials and soap operas and the like. But they have found something that they overridingly want to do, and they have decided to rearrange their lives accordingly. It's like a disease; it takes over and destroys the normal middle-class superego and becomes overpowering, this desire to do something in the theater. "For me," says Wallace Shawn, an Off-Off-Broadway playwright who has been very successful indeed as these things go, "there's no question of making a living. I've never made a living. There's no *question* of it. There are just all these people, including me, who'll do *anything* to see their work done. They'll pay people to do it." If there's a single thing that has made Off-Off-Broadway, it's that attitude. For most people in Off-Off-Broadway there may be no question of making a living, but despite the discouraging numbers and dollars, there's really no question of doing anything else seriously either.

Once a substantial pool of people like this exists in any profession, the likelihood of continuing creativity and innovation greatly increases. If, for instance, people have already broken through the barrier of worrying about a secure job and a secure income all the time (assuming, of course, that family responsibilities and the like aren't pressing too heavily), they're much more likely to break through other barriers as well. They become less tolerant of doing things the way they've always been done, to be more inclined to try what's new and risky institutionally and artistically as well as personally. The stranglehold of the way things have always been done is so strong that even actors had a hard time thinking up Off-Off-Broadway in the first place, but once it was there they took enthusiastic part and kept thinking of new ways in which the conventional wisdom might be wrong.

The Steep and Narrow Path

The success of Off-Off-Broadway need not be limited to only the theater; analogous movements could spring up anywhere, and it's too bad they don't. In American industry today, with its huge, well-financed research and development departments, the major inventions still come from outsiders who either sell their patents or start their own companies. The federal government, for all its size and money, hasn't been the major source of new ideas on how to govern.

Off-Off-Broadway's specialness is in large part a by-product of a series of breaks that are, unfortunately, now possible only for an endeavor in the

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arts. Only in the arts is innovation so readily bankrolled by foundations and government; only in the arts can resisting the occasional crushing effects of unions be respectable, even liberal; and only in the arts can people live in poverty and still be considered not only worthy but even glamorous. A lawyer on the Lower East Side isn't smiled upon as graciously by society as an actor, and as a result, the pressures to remain conventionally successful are far greater on people outside the arts. In most parts of the American meritocracy people are hamstrung by a fear of economic and professional failure. They imagine themselves to be treading a steep and narrow path toward success, so that one false step might throw them off and consign them forever to some lower rung of society.

So in a sense it's money—or the desire for the kind of respectability that boils down to money—that holds back people who aren't in the arts, that encourages them to stay on the path and play it safe. Money is all too often the measurement of status and self-respect, particularly if one's work does not provide those things to the extent it should. Too often it's also a major part of the way we size up others; it's hard to avoid, somehow, thinking of the lawyer on the Lower East Side as a failure.

The antidote to all this, as Off-Off-Broadway so clearly reveals, is the joy of doing. The New York theater is full of object lessons in the kinds of sacrifices people will make to do something they really love. Certainly there are a lot of carpenters and doctors and cooks and diplomats who genuinely love what they do, but even they lack the actor's confidence that that love alone is all one needs. And so they often keep the unbridled desire to do what they want in check, as if that restraint is one of the marks of adulthood and responsibility. Ellen Stewart's great discovery—if you want to do it, do it—isn't applied more widely because the joy of doing hasn't yet achieved the primacy it deserves, and is still held in check by other, competing desires. It's easy to imagine a world where Off-Off-Broadway could exist anywhere, with only a slight reordering of priorities. There's some of the actor in all of us, and we need only let the impulse take its natural course. ■

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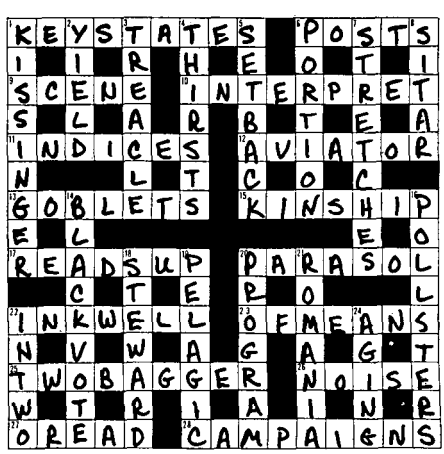

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The Case Against Day Care

by Marjorie Boyd

The election of Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale makes it probable that we will soon have some kind of federally subsidized system of day care centers. Carter has promised "a national day care program" and Mondale has long been the principal supporter of day care legislation in the Congress.

As a mother of small children, I understand the strong appeal of a government day care system. It would enable a woman to work outside the home, secure in the knowledge that her children were safe, clean, and well fed. It would mean that she would not have to lose her seniority at her company or in her union when a new baby is born, or face re-entering the job market with rusty skills and little self-confidence as her last child enters school. In a country where it is at least supposed that work is one of the great sources of satisfaction in life, it's wrong to deprive women of careers. And for women who for economic reasons have to work full-time, day care is a necessity.

And we all know what recommends day care to compassionate legislators. It would mean that the neglected child who now wanders through busy city streets with his door key hanging from a string around his neck would be in a safe place, and it would mean that the infant left alone, dirty and crying in his crib, would be clean, warm, and well fed.

All these arguments in favor of day care come readily to mind because they appear regularly in magazines and newspapers; the arguments against day care do not. Most people do not know that psychologists and psychiatrists have grave misgivings about the concept because of its potential effects on personality; nor do they know that officials of countries that have had considerable experience with day care are now warning of its harmful effects on children.

Although none of Mondale's proposals for large-scale day care systems

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has become law, federal aid to day care centers has continued to grow each year under a variety of other programs: the Social Security Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, President Ford's WIN Program, the Model Cities Program, the Concentrated Employment Act, and the Education Professions Development Act. We are moving inexorably toward this new way of rearing our children, with hardly a second thought; we are embarking on a program that will run well into the billions of dollars, that will dwarf in size and expense and effect most other social programs the American government has instituted.

Not only has the public not been warned of the potential dangers of day care, it has been led to believe that care in a center is superior to home care because it enables children to receive the benefits of "early education." The assumption by parents that early education would be of great and lasting value was responsible for the widespread popularity in the 1960s of the Head Start program and for the movement to longer nursery school hours.

However, this trend has recently been reversed. A 1969 joint study by the Westinghouse Electric Corp. and Ohio University compared children who had been in Head Start with children who had stayed at home during their pre-school years and found almost no intellectual difference between the two groups. The Westinghouse report was, and still is, criticized by some feminists and social activists as being "too narrow," but when later private studies and even the government's own Office of Economic Opportunity's inquiry supported the Westinghouse conclusion, enthusiasm for Head Start and early education began to wane.

But the major charge against day care continues to be that children cared for in large centers will suffer damage to their emotional, rather than intellectual, development.

The great bulk of a person's per-

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sonality and character are formed within the very first years of life, and psychiatrists have always stressed that a satisfactory relationship between a child and a mother figure during that crucial early period is essential for healthy personality development. An infant establishes what Erik Erikson calls "basic trust" during the first months of life. Gradually he comes to believe that his mother figure and the small group of other people (father, babysitter, grandmother, etc.) who take care of his physical needs can be trusted and will not desert him. After this trust is established, the baby is able to turn his attention outward and begins to develop elementary skills and curiosity about the world. If there are too many different caretakers or too frequent changes in caretakers, the baby's fear of being left alone interferes with his normal development.

Most psychiatrists recommend that an infant be with its mother for at least the first year of life. They believe that an infant kept all day in a large day care center will be unable to develop the necessary intensity in its relationship with its mother figure and will compensate by developing an unusually strong attachment to the other children in the nursery, resulting in a loss of strong individual identity.

In the 1950s Dr. John Bowlby, president of the International Association of Child Psychiatry, conducted an influential series of studies of children in institutions that concluded: "It is essential for mental health that the infant and young child should experience a warm, intimate, and continuous relationship with his mother (or permanent mother substitute) in which both find satisfaction." Since Bowlby's studies were of children in full-time institutions, such as orphanages, it was uncertain just how they would apply to children in day care centers who are with their mothers at night and on weekends.

In the last five years, however, several studies have attempted to update Bowlby's findings. The National Academy of Sciences asked Dr. Urie Bronfenbrenner of Cornell University, an expert in early child development, to evaluate the various new studies on the effects of day care. Bronfenbrenner found that there had been only a handful of studies on the subject and none examining day care children past the age of five. He found that there was positively no difference in intellectual development between children raised in day care centers and those raised at home.

Less Able to Cope

Bronfenbrenner found the studies on emotional differences between the two groups to be inconclusive. As most studies in the field indicate, infants and young children cared for in a group setting tend to develop unusually strong attachments to the other children in the group, and some of the studies showed that day care children were less able to cope with stress while separated from their peers. Bronfenbrenner said:

"It may well be that by three years of age, day care children do display less adaptive responses to stressful situations in which age mates are not present. . . . Accordingly, until researches are carried out comparing the behavior of day care and home-reared children outside the center or other peer group settings, the possibility that children raised in full-day group care may be less adaptive to stress and less secure in relations with adults remains an open one."

These doubts about day care did not come out fully in Congressional testimony because the experts have presented their judgments in a confusing manner. Even those who are strongly opposed to the concept of day care often speak out in its favor because they believe that it can be of value in rescuing the child in extraordinarily bad circumstances, the child who is neglected, abused, or terribly poor. Whatever harm day care may do, the reasoning goes, it is surely better than the environment in which

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these children now live.

A few hours a day in a day care center hardly seems to be the answer for children who are seriously abused, and denying people the right to raise their children simply because they are poor hardly seems just. But even taking the experts on their own terms, the record clearly shows that if government programs designed to help the disadvantaged also have appeal for the middle class, the middle class will find a way to take advantage of them. The list of examples is long: agricultural subsidies, federal aid to impacted areas, the school lunch program, slum clearance, the student loan program, food stamps, and on and on. Indeed, in New York City, where government day care is more advanced than anywhere in the country, a family earning $16,000 a year can receive a subsidy of $26 a week to keep a child in a public day care center. People who support day care for the disadvantaged only should realize that there are better solutions for the disadvantaged, and that even if instituted on a limited basis, day care would quickly spread throughout society.

All the day care children in the studies attended so-called "quality" centers. Quality day care means, of course, a clean and safe environment, but it also means a high ratio of adults to children. The currently accepted standards, those adopted by the government, are one adult for each infant under the age of six weeks; one adult per four children from six weeks to three years; and one adult per five children four to five years of age.

Psychiatrists who testified at the hearings on Mondale's day care bill, both those supporting day care for low-income children and those opposing it, were unequivocal in their opinion that day care with a lower adult-to-child ratio would be damaging. In the words of a statement to the committee signed by five child psychiatrists:

"There is considerable evidence that less than 'quality services' would inflict both immediate and long-range damage to the development potential of vast numbers of children."

I spoke with Professor Jerome Kagan of Harvard University, a leading expert in the field, and asked him why, if misgivings about day care are so widespread, the question of whether or not it is harmful can't be settled by research. Kagan said:

"Up until five years ago the best professional guess was that day care would do harm. Now a few studies, imperfect though they are, find no harm if the day care is of a high quality. But day care has been around only a short time; the damage probably wouldn't show up until later on. It is extremely difficult to prove conclusively that something will be harmful at some time in the future. Take fluoro-carbons. Many experts are now certain that at some point they will damage the ozone layer, but they can't prove it. Another good analogy would be the birth control pill. Early studies showed that it was harmless, but now years later, we find it can indeed be harmful.

"And I must emphasize that quality day care with a high adult-to-child ratio is what we are talking about; anything less would definitely do damage."

The Foreign Experience

Another way to approach the question of how day care affects children is to look at the experiences of other countries. The Soviet Union, Sweden, and Israel have all had many years of experience with group child care, and have all had less than heartening results with it.

In his report to the National Academy of Sciences, Bronfenbrenner said:

"It is of interest that in conversations with American specialists, professionals and parents in the U.S.S.R. and Sweden, two countries in which full-day group care facilities are widespread, have expressed concern about possibly deleterious effects of extended care."

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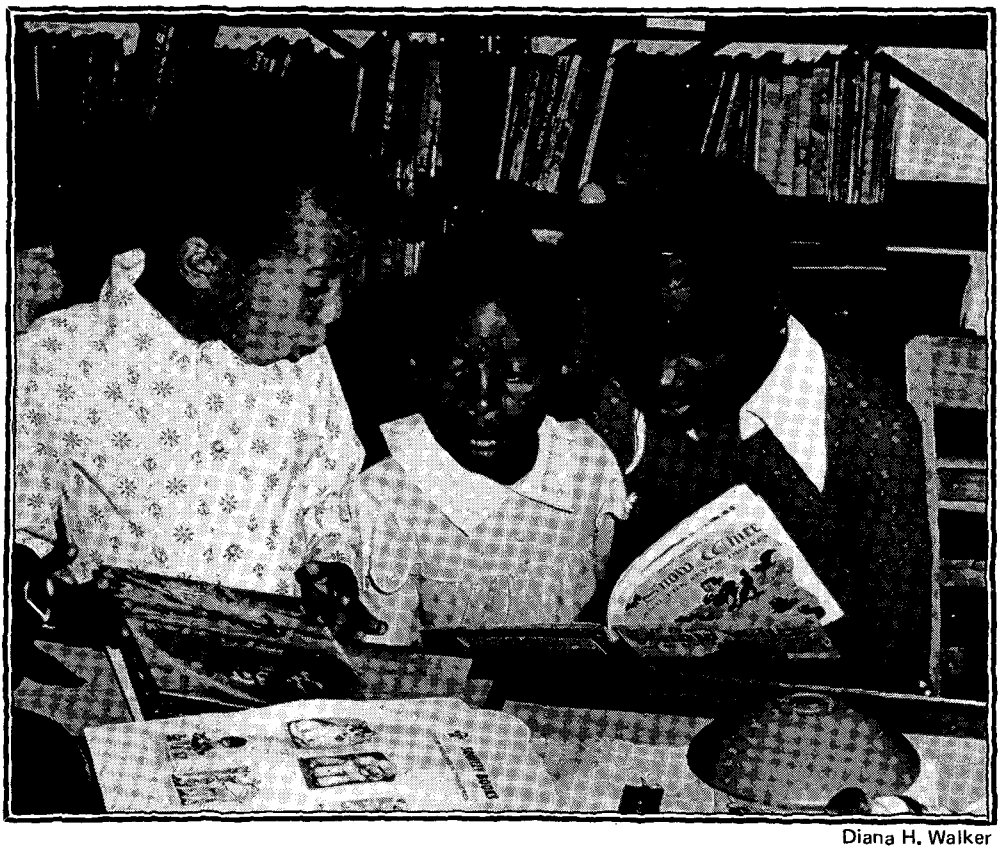

Diana H. Walker

A U. S. government study of day care in the Soviet Union, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Israel, and France found widespread concern over the effects of day care on children, and the report noted that there was no recorded case where a senior official running a day care center made use of that center for his or her own children. In one country, Hungary, the government is moving away from day care and now pays a day care allowance for each child directly to the mother. And Czechoslovakia recently revised its laws to provide for a six-month paid maternity leave.

Kremlinologists who study official Soviet Union pronouncements have noticed an astonishing reversal by the government from praise for their 50-year-old day care system to concern over the possibility that day care causes "deprivation of psychological stimulation" and "one-sided or retarded development." And one recent Soviet publication, commenting on day care, talked inspiringly of the importance of each individual developing his own unique potentialities so that he can make an "original or even revolutionary contribution" to Soviet society.

Dr. Benjamin Spock, one of the few outspoken opponents of day care centers, has said of these statements: "The Soviet authorities now realize that they have been producing some drones with their group care in the first two or three years."

Dr. Bruno Bettleheim, in his study of the Israeli children raised in group nurseries in the kibbutzim (*The Children of the Dream*, Macmillan, 1969) concluded that although the children were well cared for and happy, they did indeed form unusually strong attachments to their peer groups. A fight between two children in a kibbutz is a rare occurrence. (At most

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kibbutzim, children actually sleep away from home, in a center. Their parents usually visit with them for a couple of hours in the evening and a day each weekend, but it's still a more extreme case than day care, though certainly analogous.)

In studying adolescents and adults who had been raised in a kibbutz (only four per cent of the population of Israel lives in kibbutzim), Bettleheim found they had great difficulty in forming strong personal relationships with others, even in marriage; they were lacking in creativity and individual initiative; and they tended to conform too quickly to group pressures.

An Israeli teacher who had taught in both kibbutz schools and those outside told Bettleheim: "I tried all kinds of methods of teaching them [the kibbutz children] to be spontaneous, to be creative in their writings. The methods that worked in the city schools did not work in the kibbutz. When I encouraged them, the children in the kibbutz wrote eagerly, but they would never read out what they wrote in front of the class, nor would they show it to the other youngsters. . . . Wherever they felt there might be something that would give them away, even if it wasn't personal at all, they couldn't bring it out."

Bettleheim's study is controversial and has been criticized as being subjective, which indeed it is. But as Bettleheim points out, his work is much less critical of the kibbutz method of child-rearing than other more conventional studies using scientific methods have been.

The results of kibbutz scholastic tests make eerie reading. No kibbutz children score in the lower range of the scale, and none score in the upper range. They are all clustered quite close together around the middle, unlike any other comparable group of children. While the kibbutz nurseries have succeeded in eliminating the underachiever, they have also eliminated the scholar, the artist, and the leader.

Aside from all the uncertainties about how day care actually affects children, it's clear that one *can't* be uncertain about day care that is of less than top quality. Experts agree that anything but quality day care is clearly damaging to a child. And yet most day care centers in this country at present do not meet the widely accepted standards of "quality" because the government has never enforced the standards it adopted in 1968. A recent study by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of 607 federally funded day care centers in nine different states found that 70 per cent failed to meet federal standards of health and safety and that children's lives were actually endangered in some of them. The study also found that 40 per cent of the centers failed to meet the minimal federal standards for staff-child ratios. Incidentally, no one has yet come up with a way to police a vast system of day care centers to make sure that quality standards are maintained. And it is difficult to see how we could ever be sure that just because the requisite number of adults was on the payroll, a child was indeed receiving quality care. Private day care centers are not required to meet the federal standards and operate under state requirements, which are usually less stringent, because of cost.

Faulty Arithmetic

When quality day care is maintained, or when government programs plan to maintain it, it is tremendously expensive. In some of our larger cities the cost of keeping a single child in a government day care center for a year is more than the annual cost of welfare for a family of four—food, shelter, and clothing. In New York City, the only place where a large network of government-funded day care centers has been established (under Title IV of the Social Security Act) it now costs $3,750 per child per year for day care, which, as *The Wall Street Journal* has pointed out, is roughly equivalent to the price

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charged by Manhattan's swankiest nursery schools.

Congressional advocates of day care centers have paid little if any attention to these costs in formulating their legislative schemes. A recent study of legislation affecting children by Gilbert Y. Steiner of The Brookings Institution said:

"The results of a few simple arithmetic calculations are not flattering to either the House or Senate sponsors [Rep. John Brademas and Mondale] of what both called landmark legislation. In the case of families with incomes under $7,000, the annual cost of the proposed child development program could amount to $17 billion . . . . Even a 50-percent participation rate would have meant $8.5 billion." Brademas' House bill estimated the cost at $350 million a year and Mondale's bill set it at $2 billion.

While Steiner attributes these wildly unrealistic cost estimates to the poor mathematical skills of members of Congress, it could be another example of the legislative foot-in-the-door game. Once you get a foot in the door by getting a program authorized at an outrageously low price, a lobby for the continuance of the program immediately springs up and starts to grow—social activists, recipients, employees, and their relatives and friends—all pressuring Congress so that the program will be continued regardless of the cost.

It should be noted that the $17-billion figure arrived at by Brookings uses a cost per child that would not provide "quality" service. When you use the figure of $2,000 per child per year, which experts estimate as the *minimum* cost of quality care, you come up with a figure of $21 billion. Using the actual present-day New York City cost you reach $33 billion. And this is just for low-income children. Estimating the costs of a universal government day care system is mind-boggling and would surely necessitate a sharp increase in either the federal deficit or taxes.

Day care first came before Congress in 1971, when an informal coalition of day care advocates, consisting of church leaders, social activists, educators, representatives of welfare groups, feminists, and leaders of the AFL-CIO, successfully pushed a day care bill through both houses. The legislation, popularly known as the Mondale day care bill, provided for various health and nutritional benefits for children of low-income families and set up a fairly large-scale system of federally funded day care centers, as well as providing for after-school and summer care. The persuasiveness of the lobby was reflected in the Senate vote of 49 to 12, but the bill was vetoed by President Nixon in December 1971, and Congress failed to override the veto. A new bill was introduced but has been on the back burner because of dampened enthusiasm in the House and the strong probability of a veto by President Ford.

Enter Albert Shanker

The day care lobby has been awaiting a more favorable climate in which to launch its next offensive, and it would be hard to imagine a setting more conducive than a Carter-Mondale administration.

The day care coalition has kept together even though its members remain divided over the question of who should be eligible for government day care. On one side are the psychologists, psychiatrists, and church leaders who would limit it to children of lower-income families, and on the other side are the feminists and the AFL-CIO, who favor a much grander effort.

The emerging leader of the day care coalition is Albert Shanker, president of the AFL-CIO's Federation of Teachers. He recently told a congressional subcommitee: "We believe very strongly that the time has come for the country to develop a system of universal day care, child care, early childhood education, an entire pack-

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age of services, both universal and free." Shanker would have children enter public school at the age of two, and he points out that our declining birth rate, which leaves schools empty and 175,000 teachers looking for jobs, makes day care the answer to teacher unemployment.

Even if other considerations, such as questions about the value of early education and the effects of day care on emotional development, were not involved, the astronomical cost of this plan should give us pause. But Shanker, unperturbed by such matters, is determined to move his 175,000 unemployed teachers en masse onto the federal payroll.

There are signs that his position is gaining support among other members of the coalition. The Brookings study of legislation affecting children said of the day care lobby:

"... a substantial number of the coalition's important participants have moved quickly toward the Shanker position as a practical course.... Shanker seems to represent the most likely path to legislative success."

There are many strong arguments for hesitation on day care: the misgivings of psychiatrists, the evidence that other countries experienced in day care are now seeking alternatives, the difficulty of maintaining quality standards, and the exorbitant cost. To rush into it now would seem foolhardy indeed.

Some Alternatives

But there *are* now 4.5 million working mothers with 5.7 million children under the age of five. Women with children are working outside the home, and there is no chance that we will ever go back to the age when a woman was expected to stay home and bake cookies until her last child graduated from high school. So, if we are to maintain a holding pattern until researchers can determine conclusively just what the effects of day care are on children, we must have alternatives.

Suggestions abound, but they have received little public notice. The plan adopted by Hungary to pay a day care allowance is one. Others are longer paid maternity leaves subsidized by the government and efforts by either friendly persuasion, court action, or legislation to change company and union seniority rules so that women do not lose seniority when they take maternity leaves. And the trend toward shorter working hours, which now seems well established, may lead to more participation by fathers in child raising. Another possibility is part-time jobs. And since psychiatrists believe a mother should care for her infant at least during the first year of its life, she could at the same time care for another woman's two-year-old or three-year-old and be paid a government allowance for each child. Cooperative nurseries and baby-sitting clubs are already in widespread use in some places.

Another alternative was proposed at hearings on the new Mondale bill in 1975. Dr. Susan W. Gray, a child psychologist from Peabody College in Nashville, Tennessee made a quiet statement that was quickly lost in the excitement of Albert Shanker's political arm-flexing and feminists' demands.

Gray said:

"I should like to emphasize an aspect of day care which is generally neglected in discussions of the field and certainly in the attention of the public.... This is family day care, that is where a mother in her own home cares for a limited number of young children, typically no more than six or seven.

"At Peabody we have made a systematic study of improving the quality of family day care by working directly with the family day care mother to help her improve the quality of education and social stimulation she provides for the children in her care. It is feasible and not costly.... It does not require the heavy capital investment which constructing day care centers requires. This makes an

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attractive option in expanding the number of day care slots available for children who need them.

"Family day care is favored by many parents, because children are in small groups. Often care is provided in the child's own community. This is not only easier from the standpoint of transportation, but the mother knows the family day care worker personally, which helps build trust. Children are in small groups, and the atmosphere is more homelike. A sizable investment in improving the quality of this service would yield large returns."

The Obscured Truth

There's one more alternative to day care that seems these days to be increasingly ignored: staying home and raising your own kids. Work is supposed to be one of the great fulfilling experiences, but for a lot of Americans, perhaps even most, it's just tedium, whether experienced in an office or on an assembly line. For some people, of course, raising children is a tedious waste of time too, and those people probably shouldn't have children. For me, and I suspect most people, it's a pleasant, rewarding, and genuinely meaningful way to spend a few years. It's one of the great flaws of the day care lobby that it has managed to obscure this truth, to imply that time spent raising one's own children is time wasted.

Perhaps one problem with raising children in a capitalist society is that you don't get paid for it; perhaps the reason work is thought of as so universally worthy is that it's universally paid, and people in America too often tie the value of what they do (and even of themselves) to how much money they get for doing it. Proposals to replace day care with direct payments to mothers are attractive because they might well counteract the money neurosis, besides ensuring that child-care money goes to the people who need it instead of being siphoned off in large part by a massive bureaucratic structure.

Yet large-scale day care centers are being presented as the only answer. The alternatives all pale in comparison to the bright vision of a national network of gleaming new day care centers filled with rows of cribs and brightly colored toys.

Solutions often create far worse problems than the ones they solve, and even the best-intentioned people can opt for a seemingly simple solution which will have profound, unintended effects. Bruno Bettleheim learned, in his study of the children of the kibbutzim, that their system of group care for infants and children had not been planned in advance. It had been given no real thought, but had simply grown up in response to a problem. The Israeli women who settled the kibbutzim were the strong survivors of the European wartime ghettos, and they were determined not to have children, but to work alongside men doing heavy farm labor to create their new nation out of the wilderness. But despite their plans, babies were born. The women were reluctant to give up their new job equality to care for the children for even a short time, and since every strong back was badly needed in those early days, a system of group nursery care was hastily adopted as the easiest solution to the problem. Bettleheim, throughout his study, kept coming back to the striking differences between the kibbutz-reared children with their flat personalities and the idealistic and highly individualistic, survivors of the ghettos who are their parents.

The question of day care boils down to this kind of cycle. The women's movement has been concerned primarily with the problems of young and intelligent and creative working mothers who, it seems fair to say, are in large measure the product of the care they received as infants and children, from attentive mothers. In a new era of day care, the next generation could well be the kind that would never struggle, as its mothers have, to make a better world. ■

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Tidbits ar

. . . But Don't Let Us Pressure You

The National Observer reports that the Air Force Reserve has a form titled "Privacy Act Statement," which reads in part: "Information is voluntary. Failure to provide information could subject individual to be called to extended active duty when member might be eligible for assignment to the Standby Reserve. . . ."

Reporters Linked To Koi Scandal

We have from time to time complained that the investigative reporting craze is getting out of hand. Recently in San Jose, California, some poor park attendant apparently neglected to shut off a drain and some valuable fish, called Koi, were killed. The *San Jose Mercury* responded with four-alarm Woodward and Bernstein coverage. Here are some of the headlines:

Valuable
Fish Left
To Die

Parks Chief Alters
Story On Fish Kill

Parasites Found In Koi Fish

Koi Controversy Continues

Heated Session On Koi

Garza Blasts Parks Chief
In Session On Koi Deaths

Fish Death Censure Stalled

Breathe Easy, GS-18s

In our September issue we complained that political reporters had failed to say anything about the significance of *Elrod v. Burns*, a Supreme Court decision that severely limited the patronage powers of a Democratic sheriff in Illinois and by implication that of federal, state, and local officials generally, including Jimmy Carter—a case that was bad, bad news for everyone who thinks we have to cut back on the civil service. Only Nicholas Von Hoffman, the columnist, wrote about the case's significance. We found no other story until finally, on November 17, the *Times* put it on page one.

Closer Touch

"Trade association" is a polite term for lobby. Thus it was with interest that we recently learned from William H. Jones of *The Washington Post* that the American Society of [Trade] Association Executives has 1,500 members based in Washington, who in turn employ 45,000 people. Jones notes that "many large groups have moved here in recent years from New York and Chicago, mainly to be in closer touch with federal government agencies." Forty-five thousand people marching shoulder to shoulder for a better America.

The Front Lines

You may recall that in our October issue, Dr. Ronald Glasser pointed to evidence that any exposure to carcinogens could lead to cancer. Now David Burnham of *The New York Times* reports that a study of 3,887 atomic workers who died between 1944 and 1972 shows that occupational radiation exposure *well below* present government standards resulted in increased death from cancer. There are now 85,000 employees working in positions of possible exposure in the nuclear industry.

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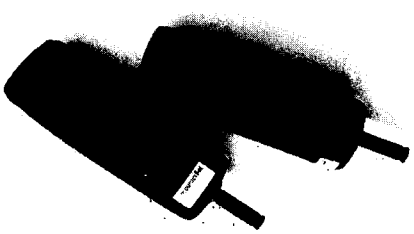
Outrages

If Only We'd Known This Before Vietnam

Under the headline "Warning: Bottled-up Aggression is Dangerous to Your Health!" the KIMM Company is advertising a new product called:

"Encounterbat—the satisfying and fun way to pound out pent-up emotions. And because each bat is made from sturdy, durable foam, there is little chance of causing damage. Each bat is 6 inches in diameter and 24 inches long. Double-stitching protects each foam pad, adding to the sturdiness. And the ridged plastic handle makes it easier to grip with both hands, thus reducing the risk of sprains. . . . an effective and safe means of releasing aggressive feelings." All this for only $23.63.



The Vigilant Government: I

A recent report on Federal Regulation and Reform by the Oversight Subcommittee concluded that the central characteristic of the nine regulatory agencies studied was their devotion "to the special interests of regulated industry and lack of sufficient concern for underrepresented interests," meaning the public. The report found that the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Power Commission were the least effective of the nine agencies. "The ICC remains mired in confusion over its appropriate regulatory function" and the FPC has "displayed a conscious indifference to the public beyond comparison with any other regulatory agency," the report said.

Ah, Competence: I

For all our readers whose anxiety level was increased by the tales of medical incompetence in our October issue, there is good news in this report from Boyce Rensberger in *The New York Times:*

"Some 330 family doctors hunched over examination booklets in meeting rooms at the Essex House Hotel here yesterday, scratching their heads, rubbing their eyes and marking answers in the first mandatory test ever given physicians to see whether they have kept their medical knowledge up to date.

"The 330 in New York were among 1,400 around the country who took the four-hour examination that is required by the American Board of Family Practice for a family doctor to renew his 'board certification.'

"Six years ago the newly formed board became the first medical specialty group in the United States to require its members to periodically prove that they have maintained their competence."

But the next paragraph of Rensberger's article reminds us that we still have reason to fear our physicians.

"In every other specialty of medicine doctors need take an examination only once and may then call themselves 'board certified' for the rest of their lives, even if they never again read a medical journal or attend a scientific meeting."

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Ts & Os

Getting Away With It

Adminstration officials who are investigated by Congress should henceforth refuse to cooperate with the investigation and then denounce it because it is based on inadequate materials. That is exactly what Henry Kissinger did in the case of the Mayaguez investigation, and as far as we can determine, with the exception of one article in *Newsday*, the Long Island newspaper, he got away with it completely.

The Vigilant Government: II

We recently explained one reason why you regularly read about coal mine disasters: the coal companies don't give safety training to new miners. Here's another reason: federal safety standards aren't being strictly enforced. Of $60 million in fines the Mine Enforcement and Safety Administration has levied against coal companies for safety violations, only $25 million has been collected.

The Lucky Few

The President's Advisory Commission on Federal Pay recently recommended that federal executives making the top civil service salary of $39,600 be raised to $59,400. That sounds reasonable, you say, for a few top men, maybe even for a few hundred top men. Well, there are over 20,000 federal officials who now make $39,600.

Ah, Competence: II

Remember David Thiemann's article in our October issue telling how the government of the District of Columbia had made a mess of its opportunities to get a good emergency medical system? The story continues to be depressing—a couple of weeks ago it was revealed that they'll have to go back to the drawing boards again. The reason: District officials had budgeted $192,000 for the radio system they had designed. The only bid for the job was $2,250,000.

Other triumphs of the District government that have come to light recently include these discoveries: 1) the District has spent $180 million to build 22 new schools over the last five years, during which time school enrollment has declined by 24,000 pupils, and 2) the operating deficit of the District's bus system has risen from under $2 million per year in its last two years under private ownership to an average of $50 million in its last two years of public ownership.

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How To Break the Ties That Bind Congress To the Lobbies and Agencies

by Michael Nelson

One of the familiar facts of Washington life is the cozy relationship between a lobby and the executive agencies and congressional committees that affect its interests. The Department of Agriculture, the agriculture-related committees and subcommittees, and the agribusiness lobby are perhaps the best known such seamless web. Lobbyists give parties where high department officials (both political appointees and civil servants), congressmen, and key members of the congressional staff mingle. They become close friends who help one another stay in Washington in positions of reasonable power, which is the main life goal of most of them. They seldom see any wrong in the relationship: it takes care of them. Unfortunately, it does not take care of the public.

I have a suggestion that will break up these relationships. My point of attack is the congressional committee.

Congressmen generally obtain committee assignments by asking their party leaders for them, and with a little patience, tact, and apple-polishing, they can pretty much get the ones they want. Therein lies the rub, for as you might expect, the ones they want are usually those that will put them in the best position to advance the special interests of their particular districts (just when they ought to be advancing the broad *national* interest) and thus get them reelected. Representatives from union districts shoot for education and labor, westerners for interior, farmers for agriculture, and so on.

The result is a committee system—and thus a Congress—that operates on the premise that good national policy on agriculture, education, energy, etc., is best made by those who owe their careers to farmers, teachers, oilmen, and other narrow interests. Fortunately, it is a problem that can be solved, and with surprising simplicity.

To begin with, in order to prevent

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committees from being dominated by those with particular axes to grind, congressmen should be assigned committees not by choice, but literally by chance. Let each party simply place the names of its members of Congress into one hat, the party's committee vacancies into another, and then draw names from hats until everybody has his assignment.

Then, to keep both committees and congressmen from ossification, legislators—including committee chairmen—should be reassigned no less than once every four years. This would dissolve the closed alliances between committees, agencies, and lobbies. Randomly assigned members would less likely be predisposed by personal desire or political interest to support the private pressure groups and government bureaucrats in their committees' policy areas. And the cost of "buying" congressional support with favors or donations would be prohibitive, given the rapid turnover in membership.

Other advantages would follow. Getting reeducated to face new challenges every four years would help cure tired blood in congressmen and Congress alike. With the constraints of seniority gone, new members would have an incentive to develop and introduce fresh ideas. It was, after all, in the 19th century, when the average Congress contained more new members than veterans, that the legislative branch was in fact the "first branch" of government.

The insufferable egotism of committee chairmen would be another unmourned casualty of a system that would turn them out frequently and without prejudice. With seniority no longer a factor, committees could simply elect their chairmen. And the petty jurisdictional jealousies that keep, for example, energy and intelligence policy scattered among a dozen or so committees would disappear if congressmen had no permanent stake in promoting one committee over another.

An important side effect of this change might be that it would make

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we bring them all together

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far easier the kind of executive branch reorganization that Jimmy Carter envisions. The hidebound committee structure is now one of the greatest barriers to that reorganization, since committee members' own status and power is so dependent on the continued size, wealth, and power of the agencies they are supposed to be overseeing. Instead of tough regulators of the agencies, the committees often become cheerleaders and salesmen for them.

The main arguments I can foresee against my proposal are that the random selection would deny congressmen the chance to use the expertise they have when they enter Congress and that the four-year limit would deny them the chance to develop any expertise while they're there.

It seems to me that the expertise we need in congressmen has to do with their ability to discover the facts they need to know—the ability to question the experts and draw from them the information they need—and to draft wise laws based on those facts. To the extent that special knowledge is relevant, it can be supplied by a committee staff, half of whom should have long, fixed terms so they can provide for a continuity of expertise and half of whom should have no tenure at all, and provide for periodic injections of new experts with new ideas about the subject involved.

With the present system, there are no tenured members of the committee staffs. Expertise comes from the senior congressmen and those members of the staffs who have been able to keep themselves in good with the senior congressmen. They are almost always willing servants of the affected lobby.

If Jimmy Carter is serious about bringing under control the power of "the political and economic elite" he talked about in his acceptance speech at the Democratic convention, encouraging this simple procedural reform would help him more than anything I can think of. ■

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No Place To Go

by Amitai Etzioni

In the engineering of new technology—spacecraft, missiles, even toys—it is standard practice to move systematically from a theoretical concept to a small-scale model, subject it to testing and modification, and then build a few full-scale prototypes before mass production is authorized. In contrast, new social policies still tend, all too often, to go directly from concept to implementation. As a result, the spread of a new policy, which reflects the mood of the times, often resembles nothing so much as a fashion wave.

"Deinstitutionalization" is one of the trendiest new policies in recent years. Its concept is a simple one: state institutions—from mental hospitals to training schools for the retarded to reform schools for juvenile delinquents and correctional facilities for adult criminals and drug addicts—should be drastically cut back and their inmates given similar services "in the community." Everybody will be better off: the ex-inmates will be treated more humanely and have a better chance for rehabilitation, and the public will pay less for its care and get more for its money.

As an idea, deinstitutionalization became popular in the social reform

Amitai Etzioni is Professor of Sociology at Columbia University and Director of the Center for Policy Research. His latest book is Social Problems, *just published by Prentice-Hall.*

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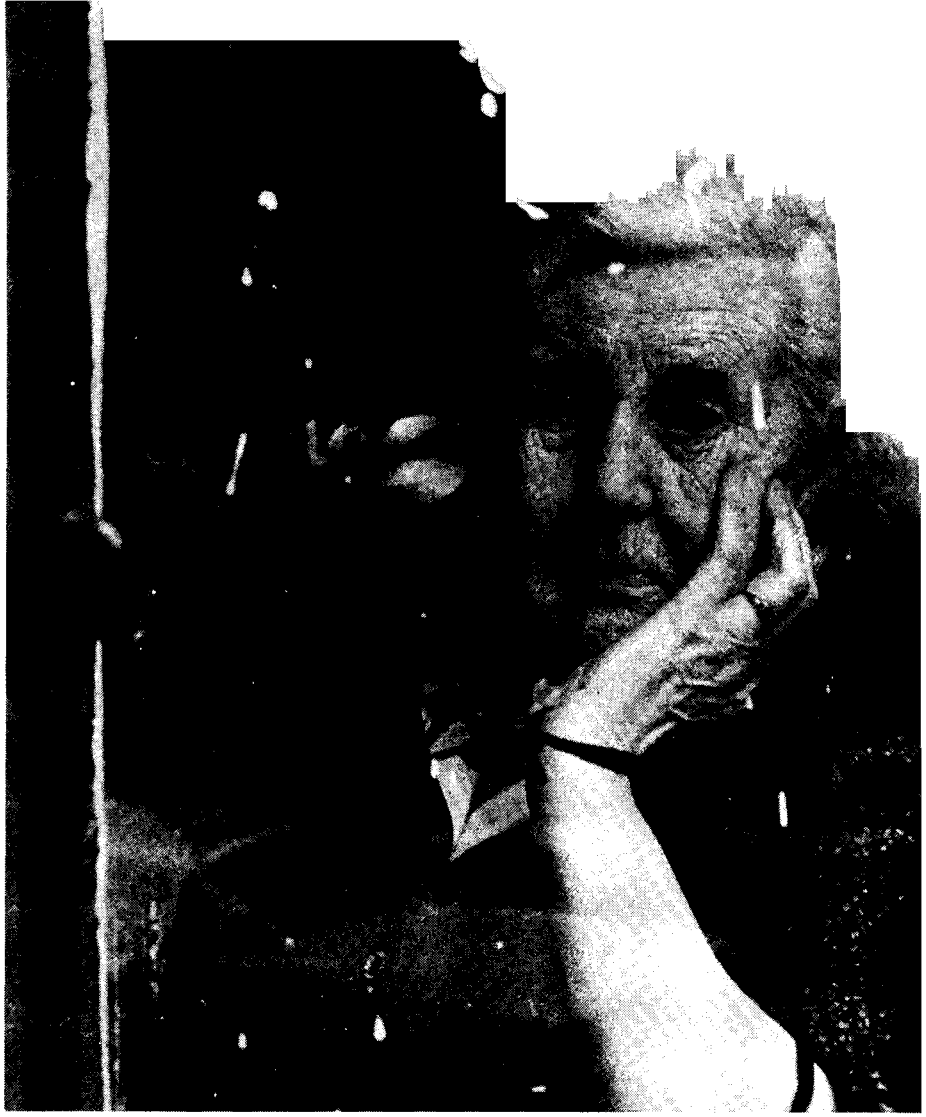

Penelope Breese

climate of the 1960s, but from the start one of its strengths was its appeal to both liberals and conservatives. Deinstitutionalization was pioneered first in the late sixties in California, where Governor Ronald Reagan welcomed it as a conservative strategy for cutting back on big government and big state budgets. By 1973 there were only about 7,000 patients left in California's mental hospitals (down from 22,000 in 1967). Meanwhile, on the other side of the country radical reformers began pursuing a similar policy concerning juvenile delinquents. As head of the Massachusetts Youth Services Department, Jerome Miller, an impassioned social-work-professor-turned-administrator, set about closing reform schools, his aim being "to tear down the system to the point where Heinrich Himmler and the SS couldn't put it back together again."

The idea caught on in other states. As of 1968, New York began releasing mental patients so fast that by 1974, there were 46,000 fewer patients in the state's mental hospitals than there had been a decade earlier. Indiana's 1973-74 biennial budget called for a cut of $2.4 million in institutional expenditures because of a planned transfer to community care. Jerome Miller moved on in 1973 to become head of the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services, where he ordered his staff to cut the number

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of children in treatment centers and other institutions by one third. By 1974, in the ten states where deinstitutionalization of juvenile delinquents was most advanced, 48 per cent of the delinquents were not in institutions.

The widespread acceptance of deinstitutionalization, however, raises important questions about it. What are the main forces propelling it? What are its merits, and the limits of its applicability?

To a large extent, the track record of deinstitutionalization is a disappointing and even frightening one, one that is becoming another example of reformers charging too blindly in one direction and ignoring the consequences of the charge. If we now realize that many people who are institutionalized should not be, the experience of releasing large numbers of them stands as a powerful argument for the existence of some, albeit drastically improved, institutions.

Squalor and Brutality

By far the strongest argument for deinstitutionalization is based on the deplorable conditions and nonexistent services that are characteristic of many institutions. The facts are well known: for years the back wards of state mental hospitals have been full of oversedated zombies, warehoused and forgotten. Facilities for the retarded are so understaffed that basic custodial care, let alone education or training, is barely being provided. Prisons are grossly overcrowded and fail to rehabilitate; exposes have disclosed squalor and brutality right out of a Dickens novel in some state training schools for juvenile delinquents, which have gained a reputation as trade schools of crime.

Such conditions have existed for years, however, and they do not in and of themselves suggest deinstitutionalization as the obvious response. Rather, the policy has gained momentum lately due to the efforts of three vocal and energetic constituencies, each with its own rationale for promoting deinstitutionalization.

First are the civil libertarians, who in recent years have increasingly brought the low level and poor quality of services provided in state-run institutions to the attention of the courts. Their legal arguments center around such violations of rights as unjust imprisonment, deprivation of liberty without due process, and cruel and unusual punishment—all, they say, are implicit in the involuntary confinement of persons in institutions that fail to provide decent living conditions or sufficient opportunities for rehabilitation or cure.

To cite only one of quite a few examples, in January 1976, following a series of hearings during which medical and health authorities as well as prisoners described the "snake-pit" conditions in Alabama prisons, U.S. District Court Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr. ruled that prison life in Alabama amounted to "cruel and unusual punishment" and was therefore in violation of the Eighth Amendment. He then announced that the Court was prepared to close every prison in the state if officials did not correct the conditions that had caused what the judge characterized as "the rampant violence and jungle atmosphere."

Retarded and severely physically handicapped children have also been affected by court decisions. One line of litigation has pursued their equal right to a free public school education along with children of normal I.Q. And television exposure of conditions at the Willowbrook school, a large state facility for the retarded on Staten Island, led to a court-supervised agreement to transfer the institution's 2,000 inmates back to the communities they came from—either back to their parents, to foster homes, or to small community treatment facilities.

Much more encompassing in their critique of institutions than the civil libertarians are such social essayists as

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N.A. Harrell

Paul Goodman, Erving Goffman, R.D. Laing, Thomas Szasz, Ivan Illich, and Jessica Mitford. Although each has his or her distinctive personal position, all can be characterized as influential "abolitionists"—that is, people inclined strongly toward the position that institutional inmates would be better off if institutions were abolished, rather than decreased in number and size and upgraded in services. Generally their arguments are based less on research than on personal observation, experience, and empathetic insight. They say that institutions are dehumanizing; that they foster crippling dependency; and perhaps worst of all, that they exaggerate the seriousness of the problem as a means of continually justifying the need for their existence. To Thomas Szasz, mental illness is a "myth." Jessica Mitford sees prisons and prison reform as a con game.

Finally, deinstitutionalization has found great favor among legislators and administrators because of its expected savings for taxpayers. Rep. Edward Koch calculated that at-home services now costing $12,000 to $13,000 a year for people in nursing homes would be lower, between $3,000 and $9,000 each a year. State governments have shown a great interest in deinstitutionalization, because care for residents in state institutions is typically paid entirely out of the state budget, while the cost of "community facilities"—halfway houses or boarding houses or foster care—are to varying degrees paid for by federal funds funneled through Medicare, Medicaid, or Supplemental [Social] Security Income (SSI).

A Poor Fit

Follow-up on the fate of those released from institutions suggests that the fit between the rhetoric and the reality of deinstitutionalization is a poor one. To be effective, deinstitutionalization has to be a two-part policy: getting the inmates out of the institutions, *and* then finding alterna-

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tive means of caring for them. The first half of the policy has been pursued with enthusiasm. For example, between 1969 and 1974 Wisconsin's mental hospital population dropped 84 per cent, North Carolina's 79 per cent, and Alaska's 78 per cent. Nationwide the decrease was 44 per cent. But there has been only token development of the community care needed to adequately service the huge numbers being discharged from mental hospitals (and from other institutions). As of late 1973, the National Institute of Mental Health counted only 209 psychiatric halfway houses in the entire country (as compared, for example, with the nation's 23,000 nursing homes).

Enormous numbers of mental patients have thus been released into communities they are not prepared to cope with and that are not prepared to cope with them. For many ex-mental patients the situation is sink or swim—either fend for oneself without any support services (other than welfare) or be reinstitutionalized. A New York study found that 29 per cent of released mental patients returned to the asylum within six months, and about half returned eventually.

Overnight Closings

Recent scandals involving the high cost and poor quality of nursing home care have prompted much interest in deinstitutionalizing elderly nursing home residents. There is ample evidence that many persons in nursing homes need neither round-the-clock supervision nor the kinds of highly skilled medical care that can best be provided in an institution. Home health agencies and day centers could in many instances provide the services the elderly require under more humane, less confining circumstances, with less potential for abusive practices, and at lower per-person cost—*if* such services existed.

In youth services, crash deinstitutionalization, involving the virtually overnight closings of large state training or reform schools in bureaucratic surprise attacks, has frequently meant that officials had to find alternative placement for large numbers of youngsters all at once. The trend has been to farm them out to myriad small projects under private-sector auspices. Hastily created and ill-supervised by state officials, many are in the hands of fast-buck artists with scanty qualifications to run such programs. Thus, for instance, *Corrections* magazine reported that when Jerome Miller was in the midst of closing Massachusetts training schools right and left and needed places to park the kids, just about anyone could walk into his office with just about any innovative-sounding scheme and leave with a contract to provide "community care."

With so few community care programs of any kind, let alone ones of adequate quality, deinstitutionalized people returning to the community tend to be left with little or no care. Instead, for the majority of released inmates, most of whom are ex-mental patients or former residents of institutions for the retarded, "community care" means one of three things: living with relatives, isolated existence on one's own, or entering a boarding care or nursing home.

For quite a few former inmates who have been unnecessarily institutionalized, one of these options works, so for them, deinstitutionalization is a good policy. For others, all three options are at best deeply problematic. Return to a loving, accepting family is highly desirable, but many long-time inmates have no families. For others, mental patients and juvenile delinquents in particular, family tensions have played a major role in creating the problems that led to institutionalization in the first place. In still other cases, the family views caring for the former inmate as a burden that is accepted only reluctantly and resentfully. When the Willowbrook school for the retarded was closed, New York state officials complained about how few parents would take their children back—or

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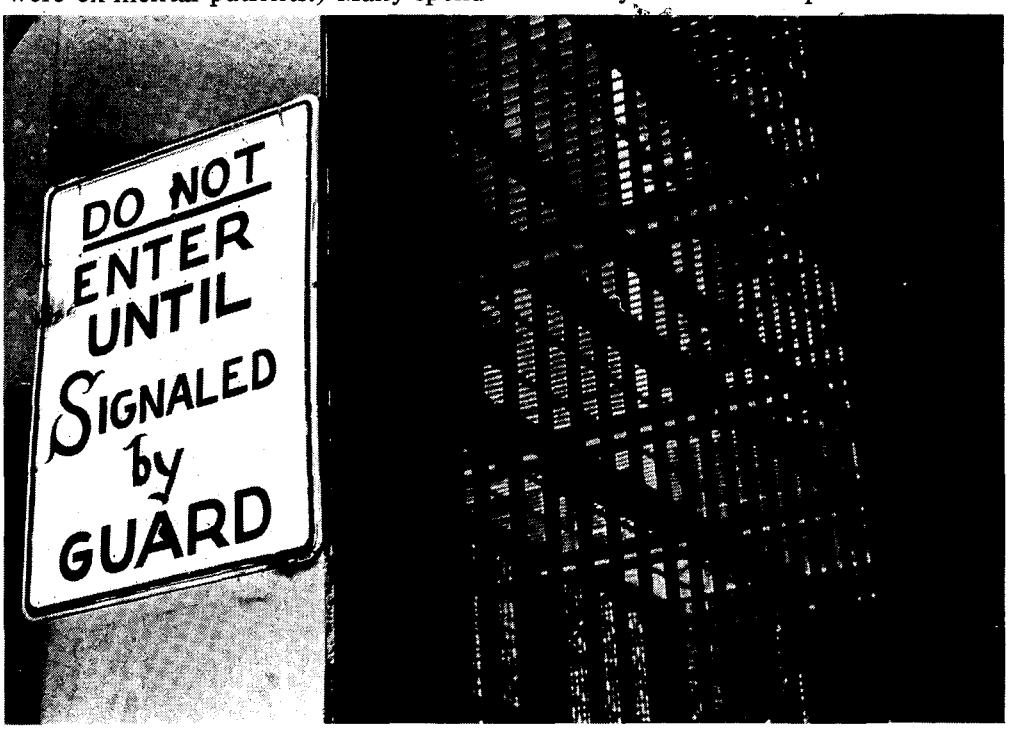
even give consent for foster care placement. The parents claimed that they had previously tried to care for their children at home and this had proved impossible, and that they did not believe that children with such serious handicaps could be adequately served or supervised in foster homes.

Ex-mental patients who live on their own frequently end up eking out a lonely existence in a welfare hotel in a deteriorating, high-crime neighborhood. (A New York study found that 25 per cent of welfare hotel residents were ex-mental patients.) Many spend their days in a daze, for the most part harmless but also helpless and hopeless.

For those ex-mental patients incapable of functioning wholly independently and who cannot rely on relatives, nursing and boarding care homes are virtually the only alternative. Cynthia Barnet and Philip Leaf, two University of Wisconsin graduate students, followed up the fate of patients released from Bryce State Hospital. Of 2,600 patients, 500 to 600 had ended up in nursing homes, with the number rising rapidly. Whether these facilities are an improvement over the back wards of state mental hospitals is questionable. Psychiatric services are very seldom available; overtranquilization is every bit as common as in state hospitals. Government care and safety standards are low, especially for boarding homes, yet most homes do not meet them. In releasing a Senate long-term care subcommittee report on the boarding home industry, Senator Frank Moss, the subcommittee's chairman, said, "Operators understand that the way to make a profit is to cut back on food, staff, bedding, and other vital services. Whatever is not spent becomes profit. To make matters worse, there is absolutely no accountability; no states require boarding home operators to file cost reports to show how money is being used."



N.A. Harrell

We have looked at the consequences of deinstitutionalization for ex-inmates, but the policy has an impact, often negative, on the community as well. Parents worry about the one or two ex-inmates who may not be harmless, and about the "birds

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of prey" (muggers, drug-pushers) that ex-inmates attract. Fear—oftentimes uninformed and downright bigoted, but in other cases quite understandable—causes communities to oppose the construction of needed halfway houses and treatment centers. In the case of facilities for drug addicts and juvenile delinquents, security precautions can result in mini-fortresses, walled off from all community contact. Where attempts have been made to cut security precautions to a minimum to create a setting more conducive to effective treatment, behavior of those people who cannot be controlled—who, even if few, may be highly dangerous, or at least very abusive—has resulted in public outcry and political backlash.

Rethinking the Approach

As the defects of deinstitutionalization have become more evident, several of the states that pioneered the policy have had to retrench and rethink their approach. Thus, the current head of the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services has conceded that more "secure slots," in institutional settings, are required for "heavy offenders." In California, scandals in the for-profit boarding care industry that grew up to provide living arrangements for released mental patients sparked a state senate investigation whose final report was highly critical of deinstitutionalization. Before Governor Reagan's term was out he had to abandon plans for further mental hospital closings, reopen two facilities, and increase the state budget for mental institutions.

Does this mean that deinstitutionalization has shown itself a failure and should be abandoned? No more than that such a simple solution should ever have been so uncritically adopted and so sweepingly applied. The lesson is that the social world is complicated above all because people have a variety of needs and capacities, which require accordingly a variety of responses: some people will continue to require institutionalization, some can have their needs met in halfway houses, and some can live at home.

Unfortunately, however, it must be conceded that our current ability to predict who will do well in a particular kind of institutional setting is far from outstanding. Psychiatrists have a difficult time advising judges as to which mental patients are potentially violent and hence dangerous to the community and may well require institutionalization. In California, a small but still alarming number of deinstitutionalized mental patients ran amok and killed people. One man murdered his wife and three of his five children before killing himself. In another case, a woman who was refused institutionalization beheaded her daughter and son. Another patient, who had protested being released, saying he could not cope on the outside, went on a spree and murdered 17 people.

A realistic modesty about the precision of our powers of prediction, however, is one of the best arguments against heavy reliance on involuntary commitment. But not holding large numbers of almost certainly harmless though perhaps marginally functional persons in institutions against their will is quite different from shipping them out whatever their wishes, or closing down so many institutions that, for those who really need it, access to such care is severely curtailed.

The current high rate and ill effects of revolving-door placements could be cut back by adopting policies that recognize from the start that a sizable group of those needing services will continue to require institutionalization, while a substantial majority of the rest will require extensive support services simply to stay on the outside and avoid being abused or exploited, let alone cope successfully with life's pressures. Above all, what we need most is to curb our enthusiasm for oversimplification and learn to live with, and respond to, the complexities of the world. ■

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The Truth at Last: How Nixon Beat Humphrey

by Russell Warren Howe & Sarah Hays Trott

Today, the best-known "China lobby" name associated with Chiang Kai-shek is Anna Chan Chennault. Mrs. Chennault, a woman of strong will and convictions, was a 23-year-old Catholic journalist when she married 56-year-old General Claire Chennault in 1947. The father of eight children who divorced his wife of 35 years to marry Anna, Chennault was a former stunt pilot who became the dashing commander of the Flying Tiger Squadron of American fighter pilots which helped Chiang fight the Japanese early in World War II. (When the United States entered the war, the "Tigers" were incorporated into the U.S. Army Air Corps.) After their marriage, Chennault lived with Anna on Taiwan and fathered two more children, while running the local airline CAT (Civil Air Transport). Mrs. Chennault—Peking-born and educated in Hong Kong—became a U.S. citizen in 1950.

When the general died of lung cancer in his hometown, New Orleans, in 1958, his widow sold CAT to a CIA-front corporation and moved to the Washington social scene the following year. She became vice president for international relations of Flying Tiger Airline (now Flying Tiger International), the freight line then run by one of the general's former pilots, Robert Prescott.

A trim, Oriental mixture of assertion and charm, Mrs. Chennault tours Asian capitals every two months or so for Flying Tiger, and has acted as a conduit between right-wing Asian leaders and GOP administrations. Her main Asian associations in recent years, apart from Chiang (Mrs. Chiang is godmother to the two Chennault daughters), have been former President Nguyen Van Thieu of South Vietnam, President Fernando Marcos of the Philippines, and President Park Chung Hee of South Korea.

In the Kennedy era, her lavish

Russell Warren Howe and Sarah Hays Trott are Washington writers. This article is adapted from their book, The Power Peddlers, *to be published by Doubleday & Company, Inc.* *Copyright © 1976 Russell Warren Howe and Sarah Hays Trott.*

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apartment, tastefully furnished in Chinese *objets d'art*, was a chandeliered watering hole for top Republicans and a sprinkling of Democrats. Even the reclusive J. Edgar Hoover came. She raised funds for Nixon in 1960 and proceeded to raise more for Goldwater in 1964. In 1968, she became co-chairman (with Mamie Eisenhower) of Women for Nixon-Agnew, chairman of the Republican Women's National Finance Committee, and a vice chairman of the Republican National Finance Committee. She raised a quarter-million dollars for the campaign by calling friends and refusing to accept anything less than $500.

Nixon's indebtedness to Mrs. Chennault and her friends went back to before 1960. It was China lobby funds that helped him in his first, successful fight for a congressional seat against Helen Douglas. In 1967, a year before being elected President, Nixon, as attorney for Pepsi-Cola, had an interview with Chiang—thoughtfully set up by Anna—that led to Coca-Cola being refused a permit to establish in Taiwan, in competition with Pepsi. Nixon returned the favor, in his way, in 1971, by accepting Chiang's and Chennault's advice over that of Secretary of State William Rogers and deciding against establishing an embassy in Outer Mongolia, a Soviet-dominated republic claimed by Chinese of all political hues as part of Chinese territory. Another factor entering into the Outer Mongolia decision, of course, was that Nixon was seeking not to irritate Mao: 1971 was the year that Henry Kissinger began preparing the terrain for detente with Communist China.

In the week of the first Nixon inaugural, *The Washington Post* society columnist Maxine Cheshire wrote about Chennault under the headline: "Next Perle Mesta?" In that early Nixon era, before Watergate became notorious, Chennault's $175,000 duplex in the luxury complex of that name regularly entertained such famous figures as John and Martha Mitchell, GOP Senators Barry Goldwater, William Saxbe, Jesse Helms, and Strom Thurmond, House

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Minority Leader Gerald Ford, and Kissinger himself. One of Kissinger's dates, Johnson cocktail-circuit holdover Barbara Howar, was not welcome, however. Familiars of both say Chennault and Howar have too many of the wrong things in common to tolerate each other's presence.

The Vietnam Connection

In the 1968 campaign, Chennault played a critical role, in part revealed by an FBI wiretap on the South Vietnamese embassy in Washington. The October 30 wiretap showed that Chennault passed word to President Thieu, through his ambassador, Biu Diem, that Thieu should not go to the Paris peace talks—scheduled to start the following week—with the U.S. delegation to be led by special envoy Averell Harriman. Thieu didn't go, and the conference never got under way. Prospects for the talks had seemed reasonably good until Thieu failed to show up. Johnson had called a bombing halt, and, as Harriman has since revealed, the North Vietnamese had made substantial troop withdrawals as a demonstration of good faith.

Chennault's aim was clearly to insure that Nixon's rival, Vice President Hubert Humphrey, would not gain an electoral advantage from a truce and the promise of peace. When the FBI passed the wiretap transcript to Johnson, the President flew into an understandable rage and informed Humphrey of what had happened.

Humphrey was angered by the Chennault stratagem, which may even have violated the so-called Logan (or Neutrality) Act, which makes it a felony, punishable by up to three years' imprisonment, for a citizen to have "intercourse with any foreign government. . . with intent to influence [its] conduct. . . in relation to any disputes or controversies with the United States, or to defeat the measures of the United States."

Former Humphrey press secretary Norman Sherman recalls the event:

"I came into Humphrey's [vice presidential] office and saw Humphrey and Ted [campaign aide Ted Van Dyk] sitting together in an excited conversation. They had just gotten the word from the White House that Anna Chennault had been in touch with the Vietnamese government. She had told them not to go to the peace talks—that they would get a better deal from Nixon.

"I asked Humphrey what he wanted me to do with the story. I wanted to blast Richard Nixon. But Humphrey said he didn't have the evidence. Cartha DeLoach had it." (DeLoach was a top aide to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.) "Also," Sherman recalls, "it would have been difficult to explain how we knew about what she had done."

Humphrey was concerned about revealing that the FBI regularly tapped embassies. Not until December 1975 did government lawyers admit in a civil suit that such taps were made and were seen as essential to the collection of intelligence. Senate Intelligence Committee hearings the month before showed that the South Vietnamese embassy tap, and physical surveillance of Chennault in Washington and New York, was ordered by President Johnson himself, with DeLoach bringing the information to the National Security Council's executive secretary, J. Bromley Smith.

Humphrey sent former FDR Assistant Attorney General James Rowe—himself an erstwhile, business-oriented foreign lobbyist—to see Thieu's envoy and protest. But Humphrey accepted Nixon's own protestations of ignorance of the Chennault maneuver; and when Nixon sent the then Senate minority leader, Everett Dirksen, to the embassy to dissociate the Republican Party's candidate from Chennault's action, Humphrey agreed not to raise the issue in the campaign.

Thieu's decision not to go to Paris came five days before the election. Just as the polls were showing Humphrey catching up with and in some cases even passing Nixon, Humphrey's

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Anna Chennault UPI

momentum was arrested by the disappointment that yet another prospect for peace in Vietnam seemed to be going down the drain. In Saigon, Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker—who had relayed to Washington Thieu's earlier promise to attend the talks—fumed, as did Harriman in Paris. When a report of Chennault's intervention surfaced the following March in a column by Jack Anderson—who once worked with Anna Chennault in Chinese refugee relief just after World War II—a Nixon cabinet member, Robert Finch, told reporters that anything she had done had been on her own initiative. Theodore White charged later that Chennault had recruited Chiang and Korean President Park also to lean on Thieu to support her advice. Democrats were in an uproar, but Chennault of course denied everything, telling one reporter: "It makes me feel that the men who were defeated are trying to hide behind a woman's skirts."

What Nixon Did

In 1974, Mrs. Chennault told the writers archly that "whatever I did during the campaign, the Republicans, including Mr. Nixon, knew about." In 1975, on being informed that the FBI transcript might be available under the Freedom of Information Act, she acknowledged the whole story, adding that the transcript showed that "from the very first conversation I made it clear that I was speaking for Mr. Nixon, and it is clear that the ambassador was only relaying messages between Mr. Nixon and Mr. Thieu. We did nothing but relay messages."

The following interchange then took place:

Question: "So Mr. Nixon asked you to relay to President Thieu that he should hold off on coming to Paris and wait until the election was over?"

Chennault: "Yes, but all I did was relay Mr. Nixon's message and then the ambassador [of South Vietnam] relayed President Thieu's back to me so that I could tell Mr. Nixon."

Question: "But Mr. Nixon had Senator Dirksen tell Vice President Humphrey that he [Nixon] knew nothing about any initiative to stop President Thieu from attending the peace conference."

Chennault: "Well, the President decided to say that, and I am only a woman and a member of a minority so how could I say the President was a liar? And how could the [South Vietnamese] ambassador say the President was a liar?"

Not every lobbyist can claim to have perhaps elected a President—and given the United States Watergate and six more years of the Vietnam war. Harriman gallantly says today that Thieu might have worked out the tactic of helping Nixon by not going to Paris, even without Chennault's advice. But Harriman notes also that the bombing halt had given Humphrey a "shot in the arm" and that, if negotiations had started, "I am satisfied, myself, that Humphrey would have won." ■

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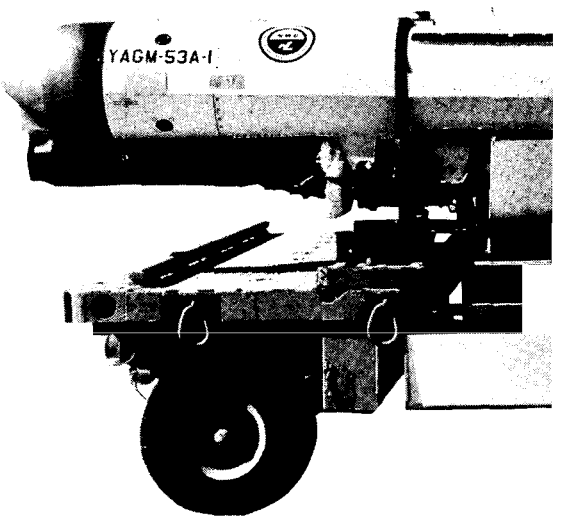
How the Condor Was Killed

by Greg Rushford

Late last summer, Congress killed a major Defense Department weapons project, the Condor missile. It was a rare case, one of the few times the Pentagon hasn't gotten what it wanted from Congress, and it came about through a curious, unofficial combination of circumstances. But those circumstances make up more than just an isolated once-in-a-lifetime case of beating city hall; they also point toward a new way by which Congress might be able to evaluate—really evaluate—defense programs and maintain reasonable control over the Pentagon.

The Condor missile was conceived in the Navy's laboratories at China Lake, California in the early 1960s by scientists in search of what they liked to call a "smart bomb." On paper, it sounded terrific. The missile would be fired from an airplane a safe distance (60 miles) from its target. Its course would be guided by someone on the plane who could watch it on a television screen. The missile would be so accurate that it could be shot through any designated window of a building.

But the Condor didn't work out. It turned out to be usable only on clear days—its television-screen guidance system needed high visibility to function, and even in good weather, an enemy could obscure its targets with smoke. The new missile was relatively easy to track and shoot down. Its warhead was too small to destroy major targets. Comparable Navy and Air Force weapons were far less costly.



It was natural, then, that opposition to the Condor began to take shape even before initial testing was completed. By the late 1960s, a group of civilians in the Pentagon, supported by some Navy officials who were concerned about Condor's poor test results and unsuitability for combat, wanted to kill the missile. In December 1970, the General Accounting Office, Congress' investigative arm, warned of Condor's problems in a report to the Senate Armed Services

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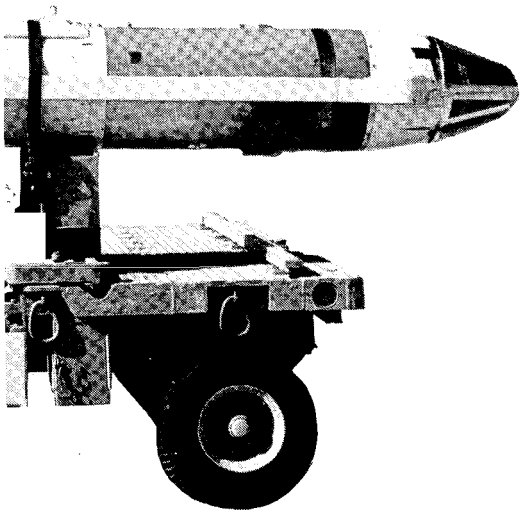

Committee. Somehow, however, all the criticism had no effect whatsoever. Every year the Pentagon requested research money for the missile, and every year the requests sailed through Congress. Both Armed Services Committees routinely approved the Condor. And although the House Appropriations Committee recommended the Condor's demise several times, the program always was restored in House-Senate conferences.

In 1975, Rep. Patricia Schroeder summed up the case against the Condor in her contribution to the House Armed Services Committee Report like this:

"The Condor missile has a range of 60 miles and carries a conventional warhead of 500 pounds; it costs about $1 million per missile. The Harpoon has a range of 60 miles and carries a warhead of 500 pounds, and costs half as much. The Air Force is developing electro-optical glide bombs that perform the same mission as Condor. The Air Force weapons can provide day/night, all-weather capabilities, with warheads of 2,000 pounds; the Condor can be used only during daylight, in clear weather, and from a A-6E aircraft. Air Force [glide bombs] will cost around $70,000 per bomb, assuming a buy of 1,000. The Condor's unit cost is over ten times that."

As of June 1976 $300.4 million in research funds had gone into the project, and it was estimated that by 1980 the government would have put up to $600 million more into the Condor.

Still, there was a crucial transition for the project to make: from receiving research money to being approved for final production. In 1975 the Defense Department told Congress that the need for the Condor had been convincingly demonstrated, and in November of that year the Senate Appropriations Committee approved the requested $101.4 million to begin production. It was estimated that more than 800 Condors would cost the government at least $500 million by 1980. The missile

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seemed to be sailing through Congress for the final time, assured of being produced.

One important group that had opposed the Condor for some time, however, finally started secretly to take action. The only Condor skeptics within the Pentagon were middle-level employees who, because of their first-hand expertise, were familiar with all the Condor's flaws. They saw it, understandably, as an inefficient missile, one that would not strengthen the nation's defense, but to kill it they had to go through unusual channels.

Filtering Upwards

This is not to say that higher-level officials at the Pentagon also knew that Condor was no good but didn't care; as a result of a curious process common in the federal bureaucracy, they may well have thought it was a fine missile. When a new federal project is on the drawing boards, the tendency is for only favorable information about it to filter upwards. Generally the lower and middle-level people who have first-hand knowledge of the project are so concerned about approval from above that they report any new project to their superiors as a great success. The superiors believe the reports, think favorably of the subordinates who wrote them, and agree that the project is worth moving ahead with. The only people who are in a position to know if a project is bad and who might be willing to try to stop it are a small core who know the facts but do not have their egos and careers tied up in the project's approval. Thus do basically good and honest high federal officials often support terrible programs: from what they know, they are convinced the programs are good ones.

After the Senate appropriated money to build the Condor, middle-level Pentagon officials who knew the missile's many flaws decided to take action. One official anonymously gave two memoranda to the General Accounting Office, an act that, in retrospect, marked the beginning of the end for the Condor. Sources at the GAO then leaked the memos to Brian Atwood, an aide on defense and foreign policy issues for Senator Thomas F. Eagleton, who would become a leader in the fight against the Condor.

The first of the memos was dated November 4, 1975, the day before the Senate Appropriations Committee gave Condor production the go-ahead. It revealed that Deputy Defense Secretary William Clements had ordered the Navy not to proceed with production until certain technical problems could be solved through further testing. The second memo was a report to Clements from a four-member panel called the Defense Systems Acquisition Review Council, and it too raised serious questions—about the missile's reliability, its vulnerability and operational use, and the Navy's quality of management. Clements knew, it was clear, that there were serious problems with the project, but he did not raise them before Congress (indeed, didn't want Congress to find out about them). Instead, he told the Navy that it could spend up to $10 million to remedy the missile's defects and that after it did so he would authorize production.

Eagleton seized on that $10 million figure. He revealed the contents of the memos on the Senate floor, pointing out that at least one official who had reviewed the Condor had "taken a strong position that the Condor represents a 'nice-to-have' weapon at best and only if its cost is low, and its reliability high." He called Clements' decision to conduct a secret review of the missile's problems "inexcusable," and in retaliation proposed an amendment to limit all 1976 appropriations to the $10 million Clements had allotted for the ironing out of the Condor's bugs.

In response, Senator John McClellan, an Arkansas octogenarian who chairs the Appropriations Committee and its defense subcommittee, introduced a substitute amendment to

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Diana H. Walker

Thomas Eagleton

Eagleton's. McClellan proposed that Condor spending be temporarily limited to $10 million, but that after the Pentagon considered the missile ready for production it could go ahead and produce without further congressional approval. Eagleton accepted the substitute, but added a provision that Congress would be guaranteed access to the results of the further Condor tests. With Eagleton's addition the amendment seemed to guarantee some review of the project, and it won even the support of Senator Robert Taft, a Republican from Ohio, the state where Condor was to be built. The stage was set for a further battle over the Condor once new test results were in.

Leaking Out

Early in 1976, a second line of attack against the Condor developed, this time through the press. In April John W. Finney, *The New York Times*' veteran Pentagon reporter, wrote an article casting severe doubts on the integrity of Dr. Malcolm Currie, the Defense Department's research chief and one of the major participants in the decision to go ahead with the Condor. In March Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld had fined Currie one month's pay for accepting a fishing trip to Bimini from Rockwell International, Condor's manufacturer. When word of that got around the Pentagon, another middle-level official phoned Brian Atwood, Eagleton's aide, and told him that Currie had aggressively promoted Condor within the Defense Department. Atwood in turn passed the tip on to Finney, who checked with his own sources and came up with the story. In addition to lobbying for the Condor, Finney reported, Currie also had been dropping hints to defense contractors that he would be leaving the Pentagon soon and looking for a job in private industry.

When Eagleton read the *Times* story, he immediately wrote Secretary Rumsfeld and asked that Currie be suspended pending an investigation. He wasn't, and Eagleton kept up the pressure. In a speech on the Senate floor he alleged that Currie had worked for modifications in an air defense system that greatly drove up the price its builder, Hughes Aircraft, charged the government; Hughes was Currie's former employer. The *Times* reported Eagleton's attacks on Currie on April 6, the day after its first story ran. Senator William Proxmire, who co-chairs the Joint Committee on Defense Production, began to investigate Currie.

(Proxmire's committee issued a report in October, after the major fireworks of the Condor affair were over. It documented Currie's undue cooperation with Rockwell in his efforts to save the Condor from cancellation. The committee's Republicans issued a minority report saying that the "mutuality of interest" between Currie and Rockwell did not result in preferential treatment, and a Defense Department spokesman said the report's findings "do not seem to be supported by the facts.")

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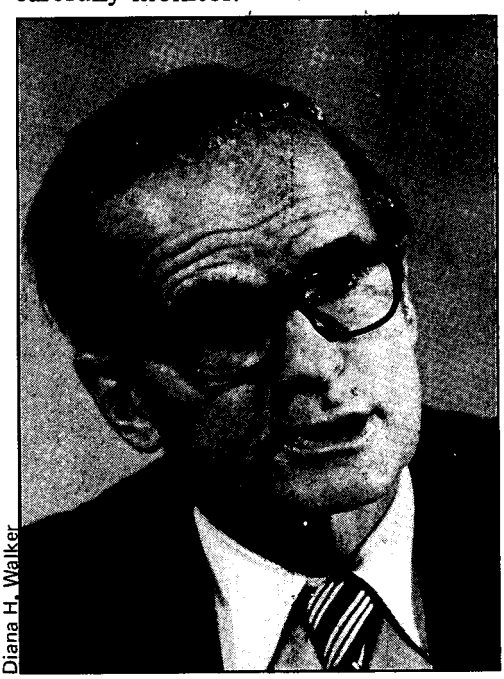
The Currie affair, though not directly related to the Condor's lack of merit, did, as one source put it, "really cause the shit to fly at the Pentagon; when Proxmire got into it, people began running around looking for hiding places so they wouldn't be hit." Eagleton used the conflict-of-interest allegations to press his anti-Condor case in Congress. The investigation of Currie, he wrote Senator McClellan in May, "demonstrates that the decision to proceed with Condor production is one that we should carefully monitor."



Diana H. Walker

William Proxmire

At the end of May, Eagleton got an anonymous letter from a group of Pentagon employees who called themselves "concerned taxpayers." The Defense Department, the letter said, "didn't pay much attention to your letter to the Secretary of Defense. . . regarding Mr. Curry [sic] and his potential conflict of interest." Currie, the letter said, had gotten a promotion "which now gives him total power over all weapon systems acquisition" and allows him to "make all the decisions from Research, Development, and Production."

John Finney at the *Times* also received the anonymous letter, and, after looking into it himself, reported in early June that indeed, Currie, "a high-ranking Pentagon official who was severely reprimanded last March for accepting hospitality from a major defense contractor, has quietly been placed in charge of the development and acquisition of all weapons by the Defense Department." The story ran on page one, and it also reported that "a rear admiral in the Navy's legislative liaison office recently called to warn" Eagleton that if he "continued to criticize the Condor program he could jeopardize future Navy contracts to Missouri."

The Defense Department's handling of the charges against Currie raised even more questions. Although Secretary Rumsfeld wrote Eagleton two days after the *Times* story to say a Pentagon investigation had exonerated Currie, who had "acted contrary to the business interests of Rockwell International," he did admit that Currie had been "approached on various occasions by contractors suggesting possible arrangements for employment." Eagleton called the investigation a "whitewash," and said it was "as much a disservice to Dr. Currie as to the Pentagon." The cloud remained over Currie's head.

Cheating on the Exam

Meanwhile, the Condor was moving steadily through Congress. Both the House and Senate Armed Services Committees approved it, and by early June it appeared to be headed for production despite all its problems.

Then, on June 8, the House Appropriations Committee recommended that the Condor be terminated. Its report on the missile said that "still unanswered are questions of operational utility, effectiveness, vulnerability to enemy countermeasures, the ability to maintain adequate quality control, and affordability." The committee's staff had also learned that the Navy, knowing its Condors

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had major problems, returned ten prototype missiles to Rockwell for remodeling *before* testing them. The idea was that Rockwell would do whatever was necessary to the missiles to make them look good on tests and answer the objections of the Condor's opponents. It was the military equivalent of going back and looking up answers after you've already seen the exam questions.

But the Defense Department still insisted on going ahead with the project, and on June 10 Clements told the Senate he had authorized the Navy to proceed with procurement. Eagleton got McClellan's permission to hold a hearing on the Condor and made a final attempt to marshal the opposition. "It is simply not feasible," he said in the hearing, "to certify to Congress on the one hand that a missile is ready for production and, on the other, ask the military service to evaluate whether it can be used operationally and whether it can perform its mission. If the answer to those questions is no, who is going to explain to the American taxpayer that he has bought 215 missiles at a cost of $101.4 million which don't work?"

In addition to rhetoric, the hearing also produced some new anti-Condor evidence, the most convincing of which came in the testimony of Richard W. Gutmann, director of the GAO's procurement and systems acquisition division. Gutmann said the GAO had raised questions about the Condor several months before that had not been answered. He also said that a private study of the missile that the Navy had commissioned had exonerated the Condor by slanting its results in the missile's favor. The Navy's own independent test command, Gutmann testified, had conducted tests whose results were critical of the Condor's effectiveness and vulnerability.

Literary Lobbyists

In July the Senate Appropriations Committee met to mark up the defense bill. Its defense subcommittee had already approved the Condor, but Eagleton came into the meeting with an amendment to strike the Condor funds. He was unsure that he had the votes he needed, but if he did not, Proxmire had agreed to offer an amendment of his own making it clear that further appropriations depended on more realistic tests and detailed congressional review.

The Eagleton-Proxmire strategy foundered, however, when Senator Daniel Inouye arrived with an unexpected Condor amendment of his own, one that had been written by Rockwell International officials. Inouye, heavily burdened with other committee duties, had turned over defense budget issues to a 22-year-old aide. A Rockwell lobbyist and the Navy's program manager for the Condor (who had already been reprimanded for accepting a hunting trip at Rockwell's Maryland lodge) visited the aide and persuaded her of the Condor's merit; the lobbyist wrote a draft of a pro-Condor amendment, and the aide talked Inouye into introducing it.

U. S. Army

Malcolm Currie

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Later the Eagleton-Proxmire forces talked the same aide into inserting tough review procedures into the Inouye amendment, but it remained that with the amendment's passage the missile was still alive.

In August, the House and Senate Appropriations Committees went into conference, the House still against the Condor, the Senate for it. The missile's opponents were worried that behind the conference's closed doors, in the atmosphere of favor-trading, the House side's facts-and-figures opposition wouldn't carry much weight. But at the same time, a new wave of unfavorable press coverage of the Condor began, and it helped tip the balance the other way.

The *Times* reported in detail on the Inouye affair, spelling out the close ties between the Navy sponsors of the missile and Rockwell. The *Nation* published a detailed critique of the Condor, which it called "the missile nobody wants," and named two Currie aides who had previously worked for Rockwell and who may have been "hired to get two major Rockwell items into production—the B-1 bomber and Condor." *The Washington Star* reported that the Navy's outside consultant on the Condor had close ties to Rockwell itself, and the *Times* detailed those ties—a former Currie aide had founded the consulting firm, and Rockwell was now one of his major clients. The Navy's manager for the Condor project had tried to have the study done by another firm, but he had been overruled from above—and later, the same firm got a second contract to study the Condor. Neither contract, the *Times* said, had gone through the normal competitive bidding process.

So when the conference met, the public image of the Condor was getting progressively more tarnished. When the Condor came up before the conferees, an aide from the House side got up and made an effective ten-minute anti-Condor speech. Senator McClellan asked Inouye and Proxmire to sum up the Senate's pro-Condor position. Inouye defended the project one last time, and McClellan called on Proxmire to add what he would.

Proxmire of course wanted to speak against the Condor, but he was worried about violating Senatorial courtesy by speaking for the House side of the issue. He hesitated for a few moments, and suddenly McClellan said, "The Senate recedes." Why he said that, what combination of feelings about the Condor was going through his mind, only McClellan knows. Clearly this had become more touchy than the average missile project, touchy enough, apparently, to tip the balance against it. With McClellan's words, the project was dead.

Sales Talk, Not Information

The Condor case may seem to be a totally haphazard victory, but it points toward two ways Congress can keep track of new weapons programs. The first is strong in-house evaluation at the Defense Department, the results of which would then be made available to Congress. Ironically, as a result of the Condor controversy, Rumsfeld quietly abolished the post of Assistant Secretary of Defense for Program Analysis and Evaluation, and downgraded evaluation to a lower office—a change that Senator McClellan supported and helped push through.

The other way Congress can find out the real merits of new weapons is to ask a new set of people about them. The high officials who are usually paraded before congressional committees have no idea whether a new missile is a loser because they haven't had any first-hand experience with it; they come with sales talk, not information. Congress, however, could start to tap directly the people it has to thank for the exposing of the Condor: the officials lower down who, because they had worked on it, knew the missile was a bad one. The lesson of the Condor is that it is possible to find out the truth about a missile, if only you ask the people who know it. ■

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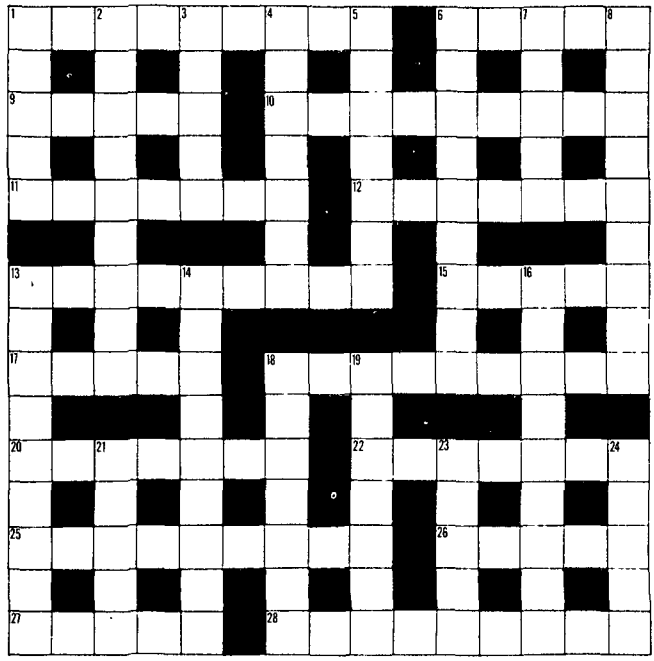
the political puzzle

by John Barclay



Across

1. White House stay will make the Mrs. fitter. (5,4)
6. The article in the Opera House is intentional. (5)
9. Fred or George. (5)
10. Young lady who can be seen inert. (9)
11. Library charge for billboard away from home? (4,3)
12. Former Carter base from Los Angeles, explosive and drunks mixed up. (7)
13. Glen dew OK if you arrange an understanding. (9)
15. Cause for rising in a blue eye as tense as that. (5)
17. Features which Eastern sons can be made to display. (5)
18. Change named Elba subject to further change. (9)
20. Direction in planet creates rules of conduct. (7)
22. Where the confused enclosures are sent, sir! (7)
25. Without her in, she's still the same person. (9)
26. Made a mistake in a bigger redder way. (5)
27. Arranges lures to catch standard procedures. (5)
28. Makes himself at home using test lines. (7,2)

Down

1. Interest in patriotic symbols ebbs. (5)
2. Churches built from soldiering with 500 away. (9)
3. No tag is used in this dance. (5)
4. Carter is somehow delectable without the lab. (7)
5. Shake endless lemonade for successful candidate. (7)
6. Hit the ball wrong on the palmy side in confusion. (9)
7. Straighten things up in fatal ignorance. (5)
8. A win here could suggest the war is lost. (3,6)
13. G-Man Kiker turns out to be effective sponsor. (9)
14. Re: silent "s"; in some fashion they hear it. (9)
16. Found in the ocean around barge's rim. (9)
18. Attacks like windcatchers? (7)
19. Around inn meet the prominent. (7)
21. Born in Brazil or South Africa? (5)
23. She will briefly become an ordnance item. (5)
24. Kind of chair made by Danes. (5)

The numbers indicate the number of letters and words, e.g., (2, 3) means a two-letter word followed by a three-letter word. Groups of letters, e.g., USA, are treated as one word. *Answers to last month's puzzle are on page 21.*

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political book notes

The American Police State: The Government Against the People. David Wise, Random House, $12.95. A skillful, professionally done complilation of the many and varied civil liberties abuses of the American government, chiefly during the Nixon era. Wise is a first-rate researcher and has an instinct for finding the story line in Watergate-related incidents that when reported in the daily papers were crushingly complex, boring, and devoid of human drama.

About a third of the material here is familiar to anyone who's read the papers for the last five years; about a third is elaboration and embellishment of things barely remembered, because they were first revealed amid such a flood of material; and about a third is new. This kind of mix grates on one's sensibilities a bit—one is alternatively interested in the new and bored by the familiar—but on the whole the book is consistently interesting and informative. The best material is on various buggings, and on the frame-up of an innocent girl accused of bombing the Capitol.

The picture of America (and of human motivation) the book presents is not overwhelming for its subtlety, and is reminiscent of the SDS's good-guys-and-bad-guys "Amerika," made respectable. Which is not to say that all the things Wise describes aren't genuinely horrifying and bad, because they are, and the book is very convincing on that score.

America-Watching. Gerald W. Johnson, intro. Henry Steele Commager. Stemmer House, $8.95.

Black Ballots: Voting Rights in the South, 1944-1969. Steven F. Lawson. Columbia, $20/$6.95.

The Bureaucratic Zoo: The Search For the Ultimate Mumble. James Boren. EPM, $6.95. From the man who created such magnificent bureaucratic phrases as "dynamic inaction" and "the creative status quo" and the great bureaucratic motto "When in charge ponder, when in trouble delegate, when in doubt mumble," comes two new verbs. One is "to residuate," which is defined "to burrow into a fixed position while maintaining a low profile. Residuation is a survival practice often used during changes of administration." The other is "to profundify," which means "the use of thesauric and other enrichment techniques to make a simple idea to appear to be profound." Boren also comes up with a new description of bureaucrats—as people who "make tentative approaches to preliminary plans for initiating feasibility studies on the possibilities of planning future study conferences on the subject of decision-making."

Champions of Peace. Tony Gray. Two Continents, $10.95.

Conversations with Eric Sevareid: Interviews with Notable Americans. Eric Sevareid. Public Affairs Press, $6.50/$4.50.

The End of Exurbia: Who Are All Those People and Why Do They Want to Ruin Our Town? John J. Tarrant. Stein and Day, $10. Exburia—like suburbia, only richer—is dying, and Tarrant spends this book ruminating disconnectedly about that. He's concerned

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Public affairs books to be published in December

mostly with Westport, Connecticut, where he lives, and its blindness and decay; alcoholism, racism, executive unemployment, restrictive zoning, and kids gone awry are the problems that have driven the town into its dark age. There's a fascination to any story like this—a golden, hopeful dream falling into ruin in 30 years—but Tarrant's indictment of suburbia is pretty familiar, and it's hard to get as worked up about Westport in particular as he does.

The Female Factor: A Study of Women in Five Western European Societies. Shari Steiner. Putnam, $8.95.

Footholds: Understanding the Shifting Family and Sexual Tensions in Our Culture. Philip Slater. Dutton. Seven years ago the author wrote a reasonably perceptive book called *The Pursuit of Loneliness*. Since then, he has gone downhill, a trend continued by this collection of excerpts from his articles and research papers.

Founding Principles of American Government: Two Hundred Years of Democracy on Trial. George J. Graham, Jr., Scarlet G. Graham, eds. Indiana, $17.50.

From Mary Noble to Mary Hartman: The Complete Soap Opera Book. Madeleine Edmondson, David Rounds. Stein and Day, $9.95. The authors' aim is to recount the history and mores of the soap opera in a light and generally benevolent way, which is altogether applaudable; we certainly don't need any more pompous, scholarly denunciations of the genre. The strange world of the soaps is presented knowledgably and in

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detail, but the book is flaky more often than funny, and not as sharp in its discussion as it could be. The allure of soppy cuteness was just too much for the authors to resist, alas, so the book has to go down as a noble failure. Its most interesting point is that the soaps aren't trivial and superficial because they don't deal with political issues and so forth; on the contrary, they are more profound than politics because they traffic in the eternal human themes of love, passion, rejection, jealousy, joy, and pain.

Inside the *National Enquirer*: Confessions of An Undercover Reporter. George Bernard. Ashley, $7.95.

The Natural Superiority of Southern Politicians. David Leon Chandler. Doubleday, $10.

The Politics of Attraction: Four Middle Powers and the United States. Annette Baker Fox. Columbia, $15.

A Scientist at the White House. George B. Kistiakowsky. Harvard, $15. Nowadays not many people know who the President's advisor on science is, but in the late fifties technology was developing fast (for both weapons and satellites) and the government was fascinated, almost obsessively concerned, by it, so George Kistiakowsky, a Harvard professor, occupied a significant post. His diary is meticulously detailed, engrossing really only to someone already very interested in the Eisenhower Administration. Kistiakowsky comes across as a man of considerable integrity, slightly removed from the political fray but by no means lacking interest in it. It's interesting how few of the burning issues in the diary are matters of any concern or debate whatever today.

Secrets, Spies, and Scholars. Ray S. Cline, Acropolis, $10.

Sure Fail: The Art of Mismanagement. Raymond Dreyfack, Morrow, $6.95.

Through the Walls: Prison Correspondence. Ethel Shapiro-Bertolini, Andrew Richter. eds. Peace Press, $12.95/$5.25.

The Vanishing Congress: Where Has All the Power Gone? David J. Muchow. North American International (Washington, D.C.), $10.

The Troubled Detente. Albert L. Weeks. New York Univ., $10.

When Your Parents Grow Old. Jane Otten, Florence Shelley. Funk and Wagnalls, $8.95.

An "inside" reassessment of the powerful Russian leader—and a disturbing new look at the super-patriotic "China Lobby"

KHRUSHCHEV
The Years in Power
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Two prominent Soviet dissidents have written the first account "from within" of the shrewd and complex leader showing him to be a decisive, even impetuous innovator—a side little before discussed in the West. They recount how Khrushchev, carried away by the initial success of his agricultural innovations, demanded too many changes too soon and precipitated his own removal from power. "A useful appraisal which will receive broad attention because of its authorship."—*The Kirkus Reviews. Translated by Andrew R. Durkin.* $10.95

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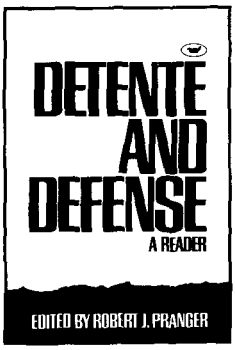

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